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THE RENAISSANCE

AND

THE REFORMATION

A TEXTBOOK OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

1494–1610

BY

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PREFACE

'No instruction which makes any claim to give a complete culture should be considered as finished, until it has led to a pragmatic view of history, and has taught the pupil to search for it himself.'[1]

There are four reasons which I think justify one more addition to the already long list of histories for schools. The first is that no existing book, so far as I know, in England or America, exactly meets the requirements of a practical teacher, who has to introduce a class to that most complex and intricate of problems—Europe in the sixteenth century. The bewildering succession of Popes, the undignified scramble for power in Italy, the kaleidoscopic rise and fall of states, all present the most serious difficulties to a beginner.

I think Miss Tanner's book exactly meets the want in supplying a clear and terse account of the period, omitting all minor details, and yet

[1] Herbart, *Lectures on Education.*

giving the pupil a definite grasp of those factors which play so important a part in modern times.

The second reason is that I hope it will further the study of European History in the lower forms of schools. It is to be feared that in this respect England is still far behind America and Germany. In the latter, as long ago as 1841, Johann Friedrich Herbart advocated a history course, which, while keeping Germany 'as the guiding thread through the whole', yet dealt with the changing fortunes of France and Italy, Burgundy and Switzerland, and 'even England'. Yet how can we expect English pupils to 'search for a pragmatic view of history', when they are for the most part in complete ignorance of one whole set of causes affecting English policy?

Thirdly, to quote a somewhat startling aphorism from the same writer, 'Stupid people cannot be virtuous.' To lack a well-informed mind may end in developing a narrow one. The citizens of a world-wide empire should not risk the reproach of insularity. Yet may not our ignorance of the history and literature of other nations have something to do with this? How many English children attain to any real appreciation of the force and pathos of German poetry, or the

peculiar beauty of a French epic? If increased knowledge about European history leads to a wider intellectual sympathy, much will surely be gained.

Lastly, Miss Tanner has attempted to write a textbook on probably the most difficult of all periods, one round which the storm of controversy still rages. I think it will be granted that she has done it in the spirit of fairness; that she has given, as far as possible, an unprejudiced view of a great age, an age when man felt strongly and acted impulsively, but an age also when, with all his mistakes and errors, he did

> 'contend to the uttermost
> For his life's set prize—'
>
> —'ventured neck or nothing—heaven's success
> Found, or earth's failure;'

and as such, whether we approve or condemn, he demands at least our kindliest judgement and our sympathetic study.

BEATRICE C. MULLINER.

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NOTE

It is clearly impossible in a book of this size to write a full account of a great epoch. I have tried to minimize the difficulties of the period by dealing with only the important movements and the chief personages of the time. I hope, nevertheless, that sufficient details have been given to preserve the vividness of the events of this particularly interesting age. The number of places mentioned in the chapters on the wars in Italy may seem to be unnecessarily large; they have been inserted in the hope that, with the help of the maps, they may make the courses of the various campaigns more clear to the reader. Too much stress cannot be laid on the necessity for the constant use of maps in the study of history.

The lists of books of reference are not intended to be complete bibliographies; with very few exceptions those mentioned are easily obtainable, and are such as might be added to a school library. A bibliography very useful to the teacher is to be found in Johnson's *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*.

Very few, if any, of the questions at the end of each chapter can be answered from the text. They are intended to be suggestive of subjects that might be considered in class or set for essays, in the preparation of which a wider reading is expected.

I wish to express my gratitude to Miss Mulliner for her untiring help and encouragement, without which the book could not have been written, to Dr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw for his valuable suggestions and criticism, and to other friends who have helped me in various ways.

E. M. TANNER.

AUGUST, 1908.

INTRODUCTION

A. Brief Sketch of European History to 1453

§ 1. Removal of capital of Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople.—Adoption of Christianity. § 2. The Empire and the Barbarians. § 3. Spread of Mohammedanism. § 4. Growth of Papal power. § 5. Empire of Charles the Great. § 6. Beginnings of France and Germany.—Holy Roman Empire.—Feudalism. § 7. Struggle between Empire and Papacy. § 8. Switzerland. § 9. Spain and Portugal. § 10. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. § 11. Eastern Europe.—Poland and Lithuania.—Russia.—Eastern Empire.—Hungary.

§ 1. In the fourth century occurred two events which, more, perhaps, than any others, influenced the whole course of the history of Europe during the Middle Ages: the one was the removal of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Constantinople (324); the other was the adoption of the Christian religion as the only legal religion within the Empire. The latter began that union of Church and State which was to be the most marked feature of the political life of the Middle Ages; the former was largely responsible for the remarkable growth of the authority of the Bishops of Rome.

§ 2. In the early years of the fifth century the Romans still ruled over all that part of Europe which lies west and south of the Rhine, the Main, and the Danube, as well as over Asia Minor, Syria, and the north coast of Africa, but the invasions of the Barbarians[1] had

The Roman Empire and invasions of the Barbarians.

[1] The Romans called all people, except themselves and the Greeks, 'barbarians.' About the middle of the fourth century many German and other tribes began to move into the Roman Empire, eventually overthrowing the Roman authority, and ruling in the lands where they settled.

begun, and from that time the effective authority of the Roman Empire steadily diminished, until, by the end of the century, Teutonic kingdoms had been established in every part of it except the Balkan Peninsula, Asia, and Egypt. Some of these kingdoms had only a short history, but the Emperor at Constantinople was never able to regain more than parts of Italy and Spain, and the north coast of Africa.

Rise and spread of Moham-medanism.

§ 3. In the seventh century a new political religion, Mohammedanism, arose in Asia, and the Emperors were called upon to struggle for the very existence of their Empire against the Moslems. Between the years 632 and 709 these new enemies conquered Syria, Persia, Egypt, and North Africa, and were only with great difficulty driven back from Constantinople itself. From Africa the Saracens[1] crossed to Spain, and by 713 they made themselves masters of the Peninsula; they were not entirely driven out until the end of the very century in which the Ottoman Turks established themselves at the other end of Europe. In the eighth century the Mohammedans were successful in Spain, but were repulsed at Constantinople; in the fifteenth they were driven out of Spain, but succeeded in establishing themselves at Constantinople.

From the seventh century onwards the chief use of the Eastern Empire was to act as a bulwark against the Moslems, and its history is the record of a continual struggle, in which the Crusades form an episode.

Growth of Papal power: (*a*) Spiritual;

§ 4. Meanwhile, a power that was to last for a longer time than any other was growing up in Western Europe. The Bishops of Rome, who at first had been on an equality with other bishops, gradually rose in influence,

[1] Moslems or Mohammedans.

until, by the eighth century, they were openly acknowledged as Heads of the Church, which had been carefully organized on the model of the State. Many causes had contributed to this growth of the Papal power, but none more largely than the absence of the Emperors from Italy, and the connexion of the Papacy with the Imperial name and idea of Rome, a connexion which gave to it a dignity and influence it could never otherwise have acquired.

(*b*) Temporal.

In the eighth century arose the temporal power of the Popes, a power destined to be the cause of endless disputes and troubles in the future, as well as the chief factor in the diminution of the spiritual influence of the Papacy. It was Pippin the Frank who first (755) confirmed the Pope in the possession of the many estates known as the duchy of Rome; the coronation of Pippin and his sons in 756 led the Popes afterwards to claim the right of crowning temporal sovereigns.

Revival of the Empire of the West under Charles the Great, 800.

§ 5. By the end of the eighth century the authority of the Eastern Emperors over Western Europe had become merely nominal, and the Iconoclastic controversy [1] had led also to the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. Yet in the minds of the Christians of that day the very existence of the Church, to them now the only symbol of unity, was inseparably bound up with the existence of the Empire. In the year 800, therefore, the Western Empire was revived, and the Imperial throne was occupied by the Frankish King, Charles the Great, who had already proved himself a strong and capable ruler, a loyal supporter of the Church, and a friend

[1] In the eighth and ninth centuries there were constant disputes in the Church concerning the worship of images. The Eastern Emperors and many of their subjects believed the reverence paid to images and pictures to be wrong, and were therefore called Iconoclasts or image-breakers.

to the Pope. The rule of Charles in this Western Empire was marked by a curious fusion of German, Roman, and Christian elements. It was the Church that had kept alive the Roman ideas and forms of government, and into these Charles now breathed the fresh life and vigour of the Teuton.

Break-up of Charles's Empire, 843.

§ 6. On the death of Charles's son, in 843, the Carolingian dominions[1] were divided into three parts: one corresponded roughly with modern France, only it reached further north and south and not so far east; a second with part of Germany, being the lands between the Rhine and the Elbe, as well as the present German-speaking provinces of Austria and the eastern half of modern Switzerland; the third, Lotharingia (Lorraine), was a long, narrow kingdom between the other two, stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and including all the northern and central parts of Italy, the southern portion of which still belonged to the Eastern Empire.

After this followed a century of terrible confusion, during which many changes took place, and at the end of which we see definitely the beginnings of the kingdoms of France and Germany. During the tenth century the crown of France passed to the Capets, the Dukes of Paris, and for more than three hundred years no King of France failed to leave a male heir in the direct line to succeed him.

Revival of the Holy Roman Empire 962.

In the same century a national German kingdom was established by the Dukes of Saxony. Their family soon died out; but the kingdom which they had founded survived them. The second of these Saxon Kings, Otto the Great, was responsible for a yet more important change. He annexed the Italian part of the

[1] Lands of Charles the Great.

Carolingian dominions, and he revived the Imperial title. Henceforth the King of Germany ruled also the greater part of Italy, and was entitled to be crowned Emperor by the Pope at Rome. The Emperor was the official protector of the Papacy; in theory he was also the overlord of Western Christendom.

The kingdom of Lotharingia had soon split up into the three parts of Italy, Burgundy, and Lorraine, all to be incorporated in Otto's Holy Roman Empire.

Feudalism.

It is to the confusion which followed the death of Charles the Great that we trace the development of the institution of feudalism, by which authority—judicial, financial, and legislative—was delegated to the holders of lands. This institution tended at first to bring some sort of order out of chaos, but it was destined eventually to be itself the cause of infinite confusion.

Feudalism caused the kingdom of France to be a collection of great fiefs, owing an allegiance, little more than nominal in many cases, to their overlord, the King. The history of France until the end of the fifteenth century is the history of the struggle of the kings to make their nominal authority a reality, and to consolidate the great fiefs in the hands of the Crown.

Effect on Germany of the revival of the Holy Roman Empire.

In Germany it was otherwise. The fact that they were Holy Roman Emperors as well as German Kings caused the German sovereigns continually to reach after the shadow and neglect the substance. In their endeavour to enforce their authority in Italy and to maintain their position as heads of Christendom, they failed to consolidate their power in Germany. There the feudal principalities grew stronger, until, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Empire had become little more than a federation of states with the Emperor as overlord.

Struggle between Empire and Papacy.

§ 7. The long struggle between the Empire and the Papacy was, more than anything else, responsible for the dismemberment of the two chief partners in the Empire—Germany and Italy. The struggle was due to the ill-defined relations between the two heads of Christendom, the Emperor and the Pope. In the time of Charles the Great the Emperor had always asserted his supreme authority over the Church, rebuking, if necessary, the Pope himself; to a certain extent Otto the Great and his immediate successors also showed the superiority of the Emperor's position over that of the Pope, but many causes tended to strengthen the power and influence of the Papacy, and, eventually, the extravagant claims of one of the greatest of the Popes, Gregory VII, led to open warfare.

Effects of the struggle: (*a*) on the Papacy;

The struggle lasted from the last quarter of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century, and it resulted in the victory of the spiritual, and the confusion of the secular, power. The means, however, which the Popes had used to achieve success destroyed, to a very large extent, the religious character of the Papacy and consequently caused the diminution of its spiritual influence. The election of a French bishop as Pope through the influence of Philip IV of France led to the period known as the Babylonish Captivity (1305–76), when the Popes instead of living in Rome were compelled to establish the Papal Court at Avignon in Provence, and to act as the tools of the French monarchs. During the time of the Great Schism (1378–1417) Christendom witnessed the edifying spectacle of two, and sometimes three, of the so-called representatives of God upon earth struggling for the mastery. These two periods helped very considerably to complete the work which the acquisition of temporal power by the

Popes had begun, and the struggle with the Empire continued.

(b) on the Empire;

From the middle of the thirteenth century the Emperors were little more than figure-heads of an Empire of federated states, dependent for their personal power on the strength of their own hereditary dominions. The office was elective, but from 1438 till the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, it was always, except on one occasion, held by a member of the Hapsburg family, whose dominions were sufficiently great to enable them to bear the dignity of the Imperial office.

(c) on Italy.

The struggle between Emperor and Pope led in both Germany and Italy to a great increase in the power of the cities. In Italy, indeed, the cities threw off the control of the Emperor and secured political liberty for themselves. For a short time the northern half of the peninsula was covered with small, independent commonwealths, but soon the internal strife of classes and the external feuds led nearly all of them to resign themselves, for the sake of a restoration of order, to the authority of military despots. It was the grouping together of cities under the control of tyrants that led to the rise of several of the principalities of Italy which existed as separate states until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Switzerland.

§ 8. The Swiss Confederation originated at the end of the thirteenth century, when the three Forest Cantons—Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden—formed their famous league to protect one another from the oppressions of their overlords, the Counts of Hapsburg. In 1315 these peasants won a glorious victory over the feudal army of Leopold of Hapsburg. During the fourteenth century they were joined by five other cantons, and their victory at Sempach (1386) freed the Confederates from

all princely authority except that of the Emperor, which was little more than nominal.

Spain and Portugal.

§ 9. The history of Spain and Portugal during the Middle Ages is the history of 'seven centuries of Crusades' against the Moors. At first the Christians were all driven to the mountains of the north-west, where they maintained their independence with difficulty, but, by dint of constant fighting, they gradually pushed their enemies further and further to the south. In the beginning of the eleventh century the chief Christian principalities were the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, and the county of Catalonia. The county of Portugal, formed at the end of the eleventh century, in 1139 became a kingdom. Leon and Castile were united in the eleventh, and Aragon and Catalonia in the twelfth century. Navarre, a kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees, became more closely connected with France than with Spain.

By the end of the thirteenth century the Moors were confined to the kingdom of Granada, in the south-east of the Peninsula.

Northern Europe. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

§ 10. All three of the northern countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden became single kingdoms during the ninth and tenth centuries. The subjection of many tribes under one leader led to a great deal of strife and confusion, and those of the conquered who were unwilling to live in subjection took to the sea and formed the bands of Northmen who plundered the coasts of Russia, Germany, France, and the British Isles, and even sailed as far as Greenland and Iceland on the west, and the Balkan Peninsula on the east.

By the end of the tenth century the Northmen had made permanent settlements in Russia, France, and Britain, while in the eleventh they put a new dynasty

on the English throne and established a Norman principality in Naples and Sicily.

At one time (11th century) Denmark bade fair to become a great power, but her influence soon dwindled, and for some centuries the history of all three countries is confused and unimportant. In 1397 the three were, by the Union of Calmar, united under one sovereign.

§ 11. The Aryan peoples who settled east of the Elbe were of Slavonic descent. From the time of Charles the Great it was the policy of the German kings to extend their borders eastward by christianizing and germanizing the Slavs; this policy was followed most successfully, and soon all the land between the Oder, the Elbe, and the Danube was added to Germany. The Slavs to the east of the Oder, however, remained independent and established a Christian kingdom of their own—Poland. The East of Europe: (a) Poland and Lithuania;

To the north and east of this kingdom two German military orders—the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of the Sword—settled on the Baltic coast in the thirteenth century, with the object of converting to Christianity the Prussians, Lithuanians, and Esthonians, who were then still heathen. The western portion of the lands of the Teutonic Knights was annexed by the King of Poland in 1466.

By the marriage of the heiress to the Polish crown with Jagello, Prince of Lithuania (1386), the Poles and Lithuanians were united under one sovereign, and their lands stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

The Slavs of Russia and of the Balkan Peninsula were converted to Christianity by missionaries from Constantinople and became members of the Eastern, or Greek Church.[1] (b) Russia;

[1] For the history of Russia see ch. vii, B.

(*c*) Eastern Empire;

From the seventh century until the fall of their capital in 1453, the Eastern Emperors were engaged in constant struggles against the Mohammedans. In 1358 the Ottoman Turks, the most recent of these enemies, obtained their first foothold on European soil by winning Gallipoli. Thrace was conquered soon after, and Adrianople became the capital of the Turkish dominions in Europe until 1453, when Constantinople was taken, and the Greek Empire came to an end. During the next thirty years the Turks made themselves masters of almost the whole of the Balkan Peninsula and of many of the islands in the Greek Archipelago.

(*d*) Hungary.

Another non-Aryan people who established a kingdom in Europe were the Magyars or Huns, who from the fourth to the tenth centuries constantly attacked the Teutons, until they were finally defeated on the Lech by the Emperor Otto I (955). During the tenth century they became Christians, and in the year 1000 their duke Stephen was made a king by the Pope. After a series of wars caused by disputed successions, the Hungarian crown passed, in 1526, to the Hapsburgs, but a large part of the kingdom was won by the Turks.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

ADAMS, *European History.*
*BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire.*

* More advanced book.

B. The Chief States of Europe during the Latter Half of the Fifteenth Century

§ 1. *France.*—Effects of war with England.—Great fiefs reunited to the Crown.—Power of the sovereigns. § 2. *Spain.*—Ferdinand and Isabella.—War against Moors.—Inquisition.—Increased power of the Crown. § 3. *England.*—Power of nobles lessened.—Increased power of the Crown. § 4. *Germany.*—The Electors.—The Diet.—The knights.—The peasants.—The free cities. § 5. *Italy.*—Milan.—Venice.—Florence.—Papal States.—Naples.

§ 1. In the beginning of the fifteenth century France had been a feudal monarchy in which the holders of great fiefs were almost independent of the sovereign; before the end of the century it had become an absolute monarchy of the modern type. FRANCE.

The Hundred Years' War had not only regained for the French Kings the provinces held by the English, but had created a national feeling in France, and had very much increased the power of the Crown by giving the King the opportunity of forming a standing army and levying regular taxes.

Louis XI (1461–83) put down the last great rebellion of the nobles soon after his accession, and all through his reign followed the policy of consolidating the monarchy by reuniting the great fiefs with the Crown. In this he was most successful, and before his death he had acquired Roussillon,[1] Guienne, Burgundy, Anjou, Bar, and Provence, and had made arrangements for the future acquisition of the Bourbon domains. Reunion of great fiefs under Louis XI, 1461–83.

In 1483 Louis was succeeded by his son Charles, then a lad of thirteen. During her brother's minority Anne of Beaujeu, a strong and capable woman, acted as Charles VIII, 1483–98.

[1] Roussillon was regained by Ferdinand at the Treaty of Barcelona, 1493.

Regent. She put down an attempt of the great nobles to restore their own power, and continued the consolidating policy of Louis XI by marrying Charles to Anne, Duchess of Brittany, and arranging for the future incorporation of the duchy with the kingdom of France.

Social distinctions in France.

France had thus become a united monarchy, but one of its greatest evils was the marked division between the social classes. The nobility, who formed a distinct and privileged caste, were exempt from taxation, and the weight of paying for the ambitious and costly foreign wars upon which their kings embarked fell upon the already overburdened peasants and the people of the towns.

Power of the Crown.

The Estates General, or representative assembly of France, had failed to acquire control over either taxation or legislation, and the monarchs ruled as they willed.

Burgundy.

The circumstances in which Louis XI obtained the duchy of Burgundy must be more fully explained. The Dukes of Burgundy were Valois, of the royal family of France, the duchy having been given (1360) by King John to his fourth son, Philip, who had fought with him at Poitiers and afterwards shared his captivity. By inheritance and by fortunate marriages the Burgundian dukes had acquired vast possessions in France and in the Empire. Charles the Bold (1466–77), the last male representative of the family, ruled over Picardy, Artois, the Netherlands, the duchy of Burgundy, and the county of Burgundy (Franche-Comté). He seems to have formed the ambitious scheme of creating a kingdom for himself on the borders of France and the Empire. His most determined opponent was Louis XI, who stirred up the military Swiss against him, and thus caused his defeat at Granson and Morat, in 1476, and finally his death at Nancy in 1477. Charles left no male heir, and his

possessions passed to his daughter Mary, who was betrothed to Maximilian, son of the Emperor.[1] Louis, however, seized Picardy, Flanders, Artois, and the duchy of Burgundy; Flanders and Artois were afterwards regained by Maximilian, but, in spite of many negotiations,[2] Picardy and Burgundy were permanently annexed to the French Crown.

§ 2. There was little national unity in the Spanish Peninsula in the middle of the fifteenth century. The kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Navarre were opposed to one another, and there was provincial strife as well as strife of classes within each kingdom. SPAIN.

In both Castile and Aragon the power of the Crown was limited by the Cortes, or representative assembly, which had the right of controlling taxation and of petitioning for legislation.

In 1469 Isabella, heiress to Castile, married Ferdinand, the heir to Aragon, and ten years later, on the accession of Ferdinand to the throne of Aragon,[3] the two states were united under one monarch. Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, 1469.

The new sovereigns engaged their subjects in a crusade against the Moors, whose last stronghold, Granada, fell in 1492; and, soon after, the Mohammedans were finally banished from the Peninsula. The effect of this war on Spain was similar to that produced on the French by the long struggle against the English—it created a feeling of nationality and increased the power of the Crown. The Inquisition, which was established in its final form in Spain in 1482, was used by Ferdinand and Isabella to promote religious unity. It persecuted Moors, Jews, and heretics, and during the first fifteen years of its existence it burnt alive some 10,000 persons, War against Moors, 1481–92. The Inquisition.

[1] See ch. iii. [2] See ch. v.
[3] Isabella became Queen of Castile in 1474.

condemned 90,000 more to other penalties, and drove the Jews (1492) and the Mohammedan Moors from the kingdom. The Catholic kings, as the two monarchs were called, were not content with putting down heresy; they carried out a thorough reform among the clergy of their kingdom, and greatly raised the standard of morality and learning within the Church.

Extension of Spanish dominions.

Meanwhile, the Spanish dominions were extending. In 1493 Roussillon and Cerdagne were acquired from Charles VIII, in 1504 Naples was won,[1] and in 1512 Ferdinand obtained possession of Spanish Navarre. In the meantime Cardinal Ximenes[2] had made numerous conquests on the shores of Northern Africa.

Discoveries.

The discoveries in the New World[3] opened up possibilities of enormous wealth to Spain, and helped to increase the power of the monarchs by making them far richer than any of their subjects.

Marriages of Ferdinand and Isabella's children.

Ferdinand and Isabella also increased their influence by the marriages which they arranged for their children. They married their eldest daughter, and at her death a younger one, to the King of Portugal,[4] hoping thus to bring about the future union of the two kingdoms; the second daughter, Joanna, they married to Philip, the son of Maximilian and heir to the Burgundian and Hapsburg dominions, while their youngest daughter, Catherine, became the wife first of the English Prince Arthur, and afterwards of his brother Henry.

Power of the Crown.

Ferdinand and Isabella made themselves supreme in their dominions by using the burgher class to destroy

[1] Sardinia and Sicily already belonged to Ferdinand.

[2] Archbishop of Toledo and chief minister of Spain. He effected a reform of the Spanish Church, and worked for the conversion of the Moors in the Peninsula. He hoped to weaken the power of Mohammedanism by conquering the Moorish provinces in North Africa.

[3] See ch. ii.

[4] See Genealogical Tables III and IV at end of book.

the power of the nobles and put an end to anarchy, and by diminishing, in both Castile and Aragon, the constitutional liberties of the Cortes. Isabella died in 1504 and Ferdinand in 1516, and their dominions passed to their grandson Charles, son of Joanna and the Hapsburg Philip.

ENGLAND.

§ 3. After the war with France was over, England was convulsed by that strife between rival parties of the nobility which is known as the Wars of the Roses. In constitutional liberty she was far ahead of the other countries of Europe, but the disorder of the period, due largely to the impossibility of controlling the barons, made evident the failure of the Lancastrian experiment of parliamentary government and the need for a firm hand at the head of the State.

The Tudor Monarchy.

The first Tudor King, Henry VII (1485–1509), was wise, cautious, and determined. By encouraging commerce, patronizing the middle classes, and crushing the nobles, he established a strong monarchy, similar in many respects to those then being formed in France and Spain. The English people, wishing above all for order and a strong government, were willing to submit for a time to the despotic rule of the Tudors, but their constitutional liberties (especially the right of the Parliament to control taxation) were too well established to allow absolutism to become permanent.

GERMANY.

§ 4. The condition of Germany at the end of the fifteenth century was very different from that of France, Spain, and England. The country was divided into over three hundred different, and practically independent, states, the chief of which (see map 5) were: (1) *Austria*, in the hands of the *Hapsburgs*, from which family the Emperors were always chosen; (2) *Saxony*, divided between the two branches of the house of *Wettin*, the

Ernestine branch having the title of Elector, and the Albertine that of Duke[1]; (3) the *Palatinate*, ruled over by the elder line of the *Wittelsbach* family, and (4) *Bavaria*, ruled by the younger; (5) *Brandenburg*, in the hands of the *Hohenzollerns*; and (6) *Würtemberg*, which was made a duchy in 1495.

The Electors. The chief power was in the hands of the Electors, seven princes (three spiritual and four temporal), who had the right of electing a new Emperor. These were: the Archbishops of Mayence, Trèves, and Cologne, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the King of Bohemia, the Elector of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

The Diet. The Diet, or legislative assembly of the Empire, was not representative but feudal, consisting only of the tenants-in-chief of the Emperor. It met in three colleges: (1) The Electors (with the exception of the King of Bohemia), (2) the princes (spiritual and lay), and (3) the Imperial cities. There was no machinery to enforce the decrees of this assembly.

Social condition of Germany. Great social disorder existed in the land at this time.

Knights. The knights, i.e. the whole body of smaller tenants-in-chief, had no share in the government, and recognized no authority. They fortified themselves in their castles, seizing prisoners for ransom, plundering lands, and acting in much the same way as the English barons in the

Peasants. reign of Stephen. The peasants, who had no recognized rights, suffered terribly from the oppression of the land-owners, and there was no one to whom they could appeal for protection.

Free cities. The one real source of strength to Germany was the existence of the Imperial cities, where the people were prosperous, well educated, and free. These cities often formed themselves into leagues for the purpose of pro-

[1] See Genealogical Table VI.

tecting their commerce. The most famous was the Hanseatic League, which included all the important towns of North Germany and had factories (i.e. trading stations) in Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and England.

The urgent need for some central law-court to enforce the decrees of the Diet led to an attempt in the reign of Frederick III (1440–93) to establish an Imperial Chamber, but the opposition of the Emperor prevented this.

In 1488 some advance was made in Swabia[1] by the establishment of the Swabian League, which was joined by princes, knights, and cities, and, having its own army and federal assembly, was able to maintain some order in the land.

§ 5. Only one country in Europe possessed less of national unity than Germany at the end of the fifteenth century, and that country was its partner in the Holy Roman Empire—Italy. ITALY:

There were five leading states in the peninsula at this time—Milan, Venice, Florence, the Papal States, and Naples.

From the beginning of the fourteenth century till the middle of the fifteenth, the family of the Visconti held chief power in Milan; in 1396 Gian Galeazzo, the head of the family, was created by the Emperor Duke of Milan. The last male Visconti, Filippo Maria, died in 1447, and the people established a republic. The Venetians attempted to conquer some of the Milanese towns, and war broke out. The people of Milan engaged as their general Francesco Sforza, a military adventurer whom the late Duke had employed. After defeating the Venetians, Sforza besieged Milan and forced the people (a) Milan;

[1] A district in South-West Germany corresponding roughly to modern Würtemberg, Baden, and Hohenzollern, with the part of Bavaria west of the Leck.

to receive him as their Duke (1450). In 1476 the duchy passed to an infant, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, and was ruled by the child's mother, Bona of Savoy, and her adviser, Simonetta. Three years later, Ludovico, the young Duke's uncle, overthrew the Regent's power, caused Simonetta to be imprisoned and afterwards beheaded, and himself began to rule in his nephew's name. Gian Galeazzo had so feeble a capacity that even after he had arrived at the age of manhood the power remained in his uncle's hands (p. 54).

(*b*) Venice; Venice was a republic ruled by an oligarchy of practical business men. Her geographical position, the stability of her government, and the wise policy of her Council had made her the chief maritime and commercial state of Europe. Her ships traversed the Mediterranean in every direction, passing through the Straits of Gibraltar to Portugal, France, England, and Flanders, and she enjoyed almost a monopoly of the trade of the Levant.

The Venetian possessions included much of the land on the east coast of the Adriatic as well as a great part of the Morea, and many islands in the Eastern Mediterranean. Until the fifteenth century the Venetians took little part in Italian politics, but at the beginning of that period they began to make conquests on the mainland of the peninsula, and soon became masters of a great deal of land to the north and the west of their islands. They ruled their dependent cities with moderation and justice, but in pushing their boundary westward they came into conflict with Milan, and were drawn into the rivalries of the Italian States.

The war between Venice and Turkey (1463–79) deprived the former of Scutari, Negropont, and part of the Morea, but the treaty which ended the war secured her commerce. The other Christian states of Europe left

Venice to fight unaided, but they cried shame upon her when she made peace with the infidel.

(c) Florence;

Florence was nominally a republic whose constitution was based on a system of trade-guilds. In reality, the chief power was in the hands of the family of the Medici, who had gained great wealth by commerce and banking. This family secured their influence by means of the lower classes, whose support they obtained by a wise use of their wealth. Cosmo de' Medici (d. 1464)—the first to become sovereign in the city—retained all the republican forms and lived a life of unostentatious simplicity, but his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469–92), abolished the useless republican machinery, and, while still himself a private citizen in name, ruled by a Council of Seventy of his own nomination.

Florence was a wealthy manufacturing town and the chief banking centre in Europe, and all Tuscany, except Lucca and Siena, was subject to her. The Medici were great patrons of art and literature, and the city has been well called 'the mother of European culture'.

(d) The Papal States;

The Papal States were a collection of petty lordships and cities owing a nominal allegiance to the Pope. The great desire of the Popes of this period was to consolidate their territories and form a strong temporal dominion. This policy made them sacrifice what little spiritual influence they had left, and destroyed any chance there might have been of uniting Italy. The Popes were not strong enough themselves to accomplish the union of the different states, and they were unwilling that any one else should become sufficiently powerful to do so.[1]

(e) Naples.

Naples was a kingdom ruled by an illegitimate branch of the royal family of Aragon, but, though the Aragonese

[1] See ch. iv, v, and vi.

had possession of the crown, their right to it was disputed by the French family of Anjou.

The policy followed by these five states in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century was that of maintaining the balance of power. Florence and Milan became close allies, and Naples joined them to form a triple alliance which should be strong enough to oppose the aggressive states—Venice and the Papal dominions. Lorenzo de' Medici prided himself on being the 'needle of the political balance in Italy', and certainly it was immediately after his death in 1492 that the alliance between Milan and Naples was broken. Florence joined Naples, and Ludovico Sforza began to negotiate with the French King, Charles VIII. The consequence of this change of policy in Italy was that, for more than sixty years, the armies of Europe overran the peninsula, and Italy, the land of the Renaissance, became the battle-ground on which the stronger princes of Western Europe fought out their quarrels.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. 'Never . . . have mankind thrown out of themselves anything so grand, so useful, so beautiful, as the Catholic Church once was.' Explain fully this statement.

2. Discuss the causes leading to the decline of the spiritual influence of the Papacy.

3. Compare and contrast the development of national unity in the various states of Western Europe.

Books of Reference

Adams, *European History.*
*Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.*
Lodge, *Student's Modern Europe.*
Seebohm, *Era of the Protestant Revolution.*

* More advanced book.

Book I

THE RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER I

THE RENAISSANCE

A. Contrast between the spirit of the Middle Ages and that of the Renaissance.

B. Various aspects of the Renaissance.

C. The Renaissance in Italy.

D. The Renaissance in Central and Western Europe.

A. § 1. Division of history into periods. § 2. Attitude of mind in the Middle Ages. § 3. Effect of the revival of learning.

B. § 4. Intellectual, political, social, and ecclesiastical aspects of Renaissance.

C. § 5. Revival of Letters.—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio.—Enthusiasm for New Learning.—Work of the Humanists. § 6. Revival of Art.—(*a*) Architecture.—(*b*) Sculpture.—(*c*) Painting.

D. § 7. Renaissance in Germany. § 8. In France. § 9. In Spain. § 10. In England.

A. Contrast between the Spirit of the Middle Ages and that of the Renaissance

Division of history into periods.

§ 1. An examination of history always shows us certain well-defined periods, one being marked off from another by differences in man's conception of life and his attitude of thought. It is impossible, however, to give a definite date for the beginning or ending of a period, for there must always be a long transition time when the old ideals and conceptions exist side by side with the new. In the case of a continent, again, people of one country will develop and wake up to the

new ideals earlier than those of another. So it was in the Renaissance, which may be said to have begun in Italy before the middle of the fourteenth century, though it was hardly felt in England until the last quarter of the fifteenth.

Attitude of mind in the Middle Ages.

§ 2. The Renaissance period is the transition time between the mediaeval and the modern world. In the Middle Ages the Church had acquired great authority. When the Teutonic kingdoms were formed out of the Roman Empire the Church alone had preserved the civilization of the Romans. The clergy, therefore, gradually transmitting this civilization to their converts, became both priests and teachers to the barbarian world. The desire to turn the attention of men from this life to the next, and the difficulty of impressing them with the Christian spirit, led the clergy to idealize the ascetic and monastic life. Men were taught that the enjoyment of beauty and pleasure was wrong, and they were advised to prepare for the other world by a severe system of abstinence and penance in this.

The necessity of clearly defining the doctrines of the Church tended to make its teaching dogmatic; originality and research were discouraged, and men like Roger Bacon, who dared to think and experiment for themselves, felt the weight of ecclesiastical displeasure.

In the Middle Ages, nevertheless, the mind of man was remarkably active, and having little new material on which to work, it was compelled to exercise its ingenuity in endless arguments on abstract and often unimportant questions, 'working upon itself,' as Bacon says, 'as the spider worketh its web, bringing forth cobwebs of learning, admirable for its fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit.'[1]

[1] Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*.

The ascetic ideal of the Middle Ages is well described by John Addington Symonds: 'During the Middle Ages man had lived enveloped in a cowl. He had not seen the beauty of the world, or had seen it only to cross himself and turn aside, to tell his beads and pray. Like St. Bernard travelling along the shores of Lake Leman, and noticing neither the azure of the waters nor the luxuriance of the vines, nor the radiance of the mountains with their robe of sun and snow, but bending a thought-burdened forehead over the neck of his mule,—even like this monk, humanity had passed, a careful pilgrim, intent on the terrors of sin, death, and judgement, along the highways of the world and had scarce known that they were sight-worthy or that life was a blessing. Beauty is a snare, pleasure a sin, the world a fleeting show, man fallen and lost, death the only certainty; ignorance is acceptable to God as a proof of faith and submission; abstinence and mortification are the only safe rules of life; these were the fixed ideas of the ascetic mediaeval Church.'[1]

Effect of the revival of learning.

§ 3. The rediscovery of the classics (i.e. the reappearance of long-lost writings, and, still more, the recovery of the power rightly to interpret the spirit of the ancient Greek and Latin authors) opened the eyes of men to what had been felt and done in the past by pagans who had revelled in the beauty of the world and in the free exercise of the human faculties. With this knowledge came an increase of self-esteem and a realization of the dignity of man as well as a passionate interest in man as *man*, and not merely as 'that which has a soul to be saved'. 'Homo sum—humani nihil a me alienum puto' expresses the spirit of these men of the Renaissance. Their curiosity was aroused; they had an insatiable craving for knowledge; they realized the beauty and

[1] Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 5.

interest of the world, and felt they had a right to use and enjoy the earth on which they lived.

B. Various Aspects of the Renaissance

§ 4. The Renaissance was something more than a Revival of Letters and Art. It was a new development of the European people, affecting them in every aspect of their life, and in each phase its special characteristic was the revolt against authority and the rise to importance of the individual.

Intellectually, it was marked by the Revival of Letters and Art, by the widening of men's outlook on life, and by the spread of education. The manufacture of paper and the invention of printing, by multiplying the number of texts and reducing their price, made a wide diffusion of knowledge possible.

Closely connected with the intellectual Renaissance is the re-adoption of scientific methods, when men returned to the study of nature and by observation and experiment laid the foundation for all the scientific work that has been since accomplished. The collection and comparison of observations enabled Copernicus to develop his new astronomical theories;[1] the need for a better means of observing the heavens caused Galileo to invent the telescope.

The discovery of America and of the Cape route to the East,[2] made possible by the use of the compass, affected the world, both intellectually and economically, to an almost incalculable extent.

Politically, the Renaissance marks the death of the idea of the universal authority of the Empire, the rise

[1] For the work of Copernicus and Galileo see additional note at the end of the chapter.

[2] See ch. ii.

of nationalities, and the consolidation of well-organized, compact states; these make the next phase of European politics an international one.

Socially, 'Europe began to be divided vertically, instead of, as before, horizontally.'[1] The decay of feudalism, the use of gunpowder in warfare, which destroyed the superiority of the knight over the foot-soldier, the growth of the feeling of nationality, the wealth and importance of the commercial classes, the freeing of the serf, all helped to destroy the very marked division into social castes, and their common interests led the people of one nation to have more sympathy with one another than with foreigners of their own rank. In society, too, the individual grew in importance as an individual, and not merely as holder of some office or member of some guild or corporation.

Ecclesiastically, the period marks the breaking-up of the idea of the World Church and the rise of national Churches. As the Renaissance spirit of inquiry took hold of the more serious minds in Europe, they applied it to the deeper questions of moral and religious life. The right of the individual to think for himself, already made good in secular matters, was claimed also in religious questions, and, in Germany particularly, this free inquiry 'produced an atmosphere in which the Church's tapers would not burn, and flickered out of themselves'. The authority of the Church was overthrown, and in Teutonic lands the Renaissance became the Reformation.

C. The Renaissance in Italy

§ 5. It was in Italy that the Renaissance began. The connexion of this land with the name and traditions of Revival of Letters.

[1] Lodge, *Modern Europe*, p. 4.

Rome, the similarity of its language to the Latin from which it was derived, the favourable position and climate of the peninsula, its commercial prosperity, the number of its free cities, the political and mental activity of the citizens, all contributed to make it ready for the new impulses and new ideas while the rest of Europe was in a state of semi-barbarism.

DANTE (1265–1321), the greatest of all Italian poets, is modern in the courage with which he followed the bent of his own individuality and wrote his great epic in his own language, but he does not truly belong to the modern period, for his poetry breathes the very spirit of the Middle Ages.

The apostle of the new era is PETRARCH (1304–74), whose beautiful Italian sonnets (still read and admired when his Latin works are dead) were so little appreciated by himself that he would willingly have destroyed them. His passionate love of the writings of the ancients, and the perception and sympathy which enabled him rightly to interpret them, woke his countrymen to an appreciation of the language and the spirit of the classics.

BOCCACCIO (1313–75), his friend, whose Italian stories —*The Decameron*—display his delight in the beauty of the world and of life, shared Petrarch's enthusiasm for ancient literature. They both strove to make themselves masters of the beauty of form which they appreciated so keenly in the classical writings, and the results of their efforts roused the admiration and enthusiasm of their contemporaries.

Enthusiasm for New Learning.

All men of means (Popes, rulers, merchant-princes), and even humbler scholars, became enthusiasts for antiquity. Italy, France, Germany, England, and Constantinople were explored for manuscripts; libraries

were formed, the invention of printing made the multiplication of texts possible, and all Italy 'became one great school of the New Learning'. The knowledge of Greek had been almost entirely lost outside the Eastern Empire; Petrarch had cherished as one of his dearest possessions a copy of Homer which he could not read. Before the middle of the fifteenth century individual Greek teachers were invited to come over to Italy to teach their language; but it was the taking of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) that gave this study the greatest impetus, by driving out hundreds of learned Greeks, whose only wealth consisted in their priceless manuscripts and their power to teach.

Neglect of Italian language.

One effect of this classical revival was the neglect of the Italian language, which had made such a glorious entrance into the world of literature in the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. For nearly a century scholars used only Greek or Latin, and it was not till the last part of the fifteenth century that the example and influence of Lorenzo de' Medici brought the vernacular into fashion once more; the greatest Italian writers of the Renaissance after Boccaccio—Ariosto (1474–1533) and Tasso (1544–98)—did not produce their works till the sixteenth century.

Revival of Italian.

Work of the humanists.

But the greatest benefit that the humanists[1] conferred upon mankind was not their original writings but their revelation of the methods and the spirit of the ancients. This gave men a wider outlook, caused a return to the study of nature itself as the source of knowledge, and awoke a spirit of inquiry and criticism. Unfortunately, this new spirit of criticism in Italy, unrestrained by

[1] The name given to the Renaissance scholars, who interested themselves in literature that had more to do with man than with divinity.

religious feeling, led to the spread of scepticism; liberty degenerated into licence, and the desire for luxury and the worship of beauty led many to sensuality and immorality. It was hatred of these evils that caused the reformer Savonarola to oppose the new spirit of humanism altogether and to beg the people of Florence to make bonfires of their pomps and vanities and even of their pictures and their books. The cynicism and low state of morality are reflected in the Italian statesmanship of this age. Machiavelli,[1] in his *Prince*, separated morality from politics and made the ideal ruler one who would use any means—lying, deceit, fraud, force, or bloodshed—to gain the ends that he desired. Success was to him the only criterion of statesmanship.

Italian statecraft.

§ 6. The Renaissance in Italy reached its highest development on the side of Art, and especially in the arts of sculpture and painting. Architecture had flourished in Europe during the Middle Ages, it had been continually practised in the service of religion, and the beautiful Gothic cathedrals belong to the period before the Renaissance. The Renaissance architecture is marked by the re-introduction of classical forms and the return to classical models. In the Early and Full Renaissance periods these classical models were wonderfully adapted to modern needs, but in the Late Renaissance the originality of the architects seems to have been crushed out by what had become a servile imitation of the forms of antiquity. The greatest names connected with the Renaissance architecture are: Brunelleschi (1379–1446), who designed the cupola of the Duomo at Florence and the Pitti Palace; Bramante (d. 1514), the first architect of St. Peter's in Rome;

Revival of Art: (*a*) Architecture;

[1] Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), a distinguished Florentine, a brilliant diplomatist and political writer.

Michelangelo (1475–1564), who designed the cupola of St. Peter's; and Palladio (d. 1580), the builder of palaces in Vicenza and Verona, who gave his name to the Palladian style.

(b) Sculpture;

The architect's love of decoration and great attention to detail, combined with the revived study of antiquity and of nature, led to a remarkable development of the art of sculpture. The impossibility of excelling the perfect beauty of the Greek and Roman statues, many of which still existed, eventually led, in sculpture as in architecture, to a blind imitation of the classical models, but not until some of the greatest sculptors of all ages had given their works to the world: Ghiberti (1378–1455), famous for the casting of the bronze gates of the Baptistery in Florence; Donatello (1386–1466), the sculptor of two of the most popular statues in the world, the Mercury and the St. George in Florence; Luca della Robbia (1400–82), best known in connexion with Robbia ware; Verrocchio (1438–88), probably the modeller of the famous equestrian statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni at Venice; and, last, Michelangelo (1475–1564), great as architect, painter and poet, but greatest of all as sculptor.

(c) Painting;

Yet it is neither architecture nor sculpture, but painting, that furnishes the best expression of the Renaissance spirit in Italy. In the Middle Ages painting had been so bound down in the service of the Church by conventional rules that it was both unnatural and lifeless, in spite of the revivals of Cimabue and Giotto in Florence in the early fourteenth century. The renewed study of nature and the secular spirit of the Renaissance led to the overthrow of the old, arbitrary rules, to a wonderful development of individuality, to the introduction of new methods, as well as to the study of

anatomy and the discovery of the laws of perspective, to the introduction of oil colours and all kinds of technical improvements.

The great pioneer of Renaissance painting was the Florentine Masaccio (1402–29?), whose frescoes on the walls of the Brancacci Chapel in his native city were inspirations to all the succeeding generations of artists, and particularly to Raphael. Other great fifteenth-century artists were Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–69); Fra Angelico (1387–1455), whose loving nature caused him to decorate the cells of the monks in San Marco at Florence with beautiful frescoes; Botticelli (1446–1510), specially famous for his treatment of classical myths; Ghirlandajo (1449–98); Pietro Perugino (d. 1524), the master of Raphael; Mantegna (1430–1506), the inventor of engravings; the Bellini, and Carpaccio (d. 1519).

But it is the very end of the fifteenth century and the first thirty years of the sixteenth that give us the greatest names in Renaissance painting—the names of Lionardo da Vinci (1452–1519), painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, scientist, and musician; Michelangelo; Raphael (1485–1520), whose work, particularly in the Vatican frescoes, was so perfect that 'when he died inspiration seemed to pass from his followers as colour fades from clouds at sunset'; Andrea del Sarto (d. 1531), and the four great painters of the Venetian school—Giorgione (1478–1511), Titian (1477–1576), Tintoretto (d. 1594), and Veronese (d. 1588).

It was natural that this most glorious of all periods in the history of Art should be followed by one of mediocrity, when the artist, in striving after perfection of style, lost almost all spontaneity of inspiration, and that there could be no new period of artistic production until there were new spiritual impulses to give rise to it.

D. Renaissance in Central and Western Europe

§ 7. When the Renaissance spirit passed beyond the Alps it resulted not so much in a desire to master the style and form of the classical writers as in an application of the wider culture and the new spirit of inquiry and individuality to the practical questions of life—the questions of education, social conditions, and religious belief and worship. The Italians had done a great work in training the mind of Europe by their patient learning of the lessons of antiquity, but 'while they, always more careful of the form than of the matter of speech, continued the task of polishing the language, the graver northern nations were shaking the foundations of thought'.

Renaissance in Germany.

Especially was this the case in Germany, and for this reason it will be more suitable to consider the Renaissance in Germany in connexion with the Reformation into which it merged. In Art, the Dutch and German artists, notably Hans Holbein and Albrecht Dürer, in ceasing to use only religious subjects, illustrated their interest in humanity rather than in the classics by turning, not to the mythological stories, but to the everyday life around them and depicting that, finding even in the common life of the country and the town something picturesque and interesting.

The Renaissance in France.

§ 8. It was in France that the Renaissance most resembled that of Italy; the Italian spirit was more congenial to the French than to the Teutons, and from the time of Charles VIII's expedition to Italy in 1494 there was continuous and close intercourse between the two lands. But, though the French were affected so directly by the Italian scholars and artists, they never

allowed their own originality to be swallowed up in their admiration for the antique. The names of Rabelais and Montaigne alone, both products of the French Renaissance, are sufficient to prove this.

The Renaissance in Spain.

§ 9. In Spain, the great Cardinal Ximenes was one of the patrons of the New Learning. Himself a Greek scholar, he made the University of Alcalá famous throughout Europe for its learning, and caused the Greek text of the New Testament to be printed there in 1514. It was his enterprise and generosity that led to the publication in 1522 of the famous Complutensian Polyglot[1], of which the Greek Testament formed one volume. This is the great monument of the New Learning in Spain, for afterwards the influence of the Church was used in opposition to the Renaissance, and both the Inquisition and the Jesuits threw all their weight into the scale against it. The movement, therefore, never became general and popular as in other countries. It could not, however, be entirely crushed, and it showed itself in the enthusiasm of the discoverers and in the marvellous works of imagination—the romantic novels and the dramas—of such writers as Cervantes and Lope de Vega.

Renaissance in England.

§ 10. In England, the New Learning, brought back by travellers who had visited Italy and studied Greek there, was received with enthusiasm, particularly at Oxford, from which centre it spread through the country. The English mind, however, is naturally a serious and practical one, and we connect the Renaissance movement of this country particularly with the educational reforms

[1] Alcalá was called in Latin Complūtum, whence the name of the work. The Complutensian Polyglot is an edition of the Bible in which the original text is given side by side with several translations. It was the first great work of its kind, and has been invaluable for Biblical criticism.

of John Colet, the social reforms foreshadowed by More in his *Utopia*, and with the noble attempts made by these men and their friends (especially the greatest of them all, the cosmopolitan Erasmus) to reform the religious life of their times. It was not till the end of the sixteenth century that the Renaissance spirit in English literature reached its highest expression in the glorious works of the Elizabethans, and especially in the dramas of Shakespeare.

Additional Note

The Astronomical Discoveries

Before the time of *Copernicus* (1473–1543), Ptolemy's astronomical system was generally accepted. It was believed that the earth was the centre of the universe. Each planet was set in a crystal sphere which revolved with it. The seven planetary spheres were arranged one inside the other, and outside of them all was a larger one, the '*primum mobile*', in which the stars were set. This larger one moved all the others.

Copernicus, after working out his ideas for thirty-six years, proved that the theory of crystal spheres was incorrect, and for the apparent movement of the heavens he substituted the real movement of the earth.

Tycho Brahé (1546–1601) constructed a sextant and a quadrant and built the earliest observatory.

Galileo (1564–1642), 'the Italian star-wright,' invented the telescope, and, using his newly invented instrument, discovered Jupiter's satellites in 1610.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Describe the effects produced upon Western Europe by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople.

2. 'The discovery of the world and the discovery of man.' Discuss this definition of the Renaissance.

3. Contrast the forms assumed by the Renaissance among the Latin and the Teutonic peoples.

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* More advanced books.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

§ 1. The world as known in 1400. § 2. Work of Portuguese in exploration. § 3. Work of the Spaniards.—Columbus and the West Indies. § 4. Division of newly discovered lands. § 5. Cape route to India.—Trade of the Indian Ocean. § 6. English discoveries.—Voyages round the world. § 7. South America. § 8. Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

The world as known in 1400.

§ 1. ONLY a very small portion of the earth's surface was accurately known to Europeans at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The existence of a great western continent was unsuspected, the centre and east of Asia were known but vaguely from the tales of travellers like Marco Polo, only the northern and eastern shores of Africa had been explored, and no one knew the exact outline of the north of Europe. In spite of the fact that in the days of the ancient Greeks the earth had been proved to be round, the mass of mankind still continued to think of it as a flat surface, on the upper side of which man lived; and, even by those who knew better than this, the globe was thought to be considerably smaller than it really was. Asia was imagined to stretch nearly two-thirds of the way round it, India occupying an exceedingly large portion of the south-east of that continent. The east coast of Cathay (China) was supposed to be very much in the position of the Rocky Mountains of to-day, and men believed that a few days' sail from the west of Europe would bring them to the east of Asia. How distorted was man's idea of

even those parts of the world that had been visited by Europeans, will be seen from the map 3 drawn from a globe constructed by Martin Behaim at Nuremberg, in 1492, the very year of the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus.

Work of the Portuguese.

§ 2. It was the Portuguese who began the systematic work of discovery in the fifteenth century. They were prompted, perhaps, by the desire to exercise the crusading spirit which had been fostered in them by their constant struggles with the Moors in the Peninsula, and for which they had no scope at home now that the Castilians separated them from their enemies. For more than thirty years (1426–60) Prince Henry of Portugal, grandson of the English John of Gaunt, was the moving spirit and the organizer of these maritime expeditions, and we are able to mark the change, even in his lifetime, from the old crusading spirit of the Middle Ages to the commercial spirit of modern times. When the Portuguese began to explore the western coasts of Africa, their desire was to form a Christian kingdom on the west of the Soudan, which should correspond to that of Abyssinia on the east, and thus to be able to carry on from each end their work of christianizing the natives who had not yet been converted to Islam. Incidentally, too, they doubtless thought of the advantage of the new route to the East, which would be open to them when their missionary efforts had been successful.

Exploration of the west coast of Africa, 1426–86.

Steady progress was made in the exploration of the west coast of Africa, and by 1460 the Gulf of Guinea had been reached; but already desire for gain was mingled with the missionary zeal, and the natives were brought to Europe, to be sold as slaves to the landowners of Spain and Portugal first, and converted afterwards. The Guinea trade in gold-dust, ostrich

feathers, and ivory was found to be very profitable, and it was farmed out to the highest bidder, on the condition of his discovering 100 leagues of coast each year. By this means, the mouth of the Congo was reached in 1484, and the 'Cape of Storms', whose name was afterwards changed to 'Cape of Good Hope', was rounded by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486.

Rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, 1486.

Great interest was aroused in Europe by the Portuguese discoveries, and attention was drawn to the possibility of finding a new way to the East just at the time when the old routes were becoming more and more difficult, owing to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) and the power of the Turkish corsairs in the eastern Mediterranean. The old Greek and Roman idea of sailing to the East via the West was revived, the traditions of the existence of islands in the Atlantic between Europe and Asia were recalled, and expeditions to find these were made by the Portuguese and the men of Bristol.

It was reserved for Christopher Columbus, the Genoese seaman, to make the first discovery. He was determined to reach Asia by sailing due westward, and, being unable to obtain the necessary means from Portugal, his adopted country, in 1485 he and his brother applied to Spain and England simultaneously; terms were first made with the former country, Queen Isabella agreeing to fit out his expedition, to give him the usual rewards for success, and, in addition, make him Admiral and Viceroy of the lands he acquired for Castile.

Work of Spain, 1492–1502.

On August 3, 1492, Columbus set sail from Palos, near Cadiz, with his three small ships, and on October 12, dressed in the costume of a Castilian admiral, he landed on one of the Bahamas, and planted there the

Discovery of West Indies, 1492.

flag of Castile. Columbus gave the name of 'West Indies' to these islands in the Caribbean Sea, and, although in subsequent voyages he navigated the shores of Venezuela and Central America, he had no idea to the day of his death that he had found anything more than the easternmost parts of Asia.

The Spaniards made bad colonists, they cared only for the profit to be obtained from slaves and gold; but the Indians were not useful slaves, and the islands yielded little gold. Columbus was not successful as an administrator, and in 1502 was recalled to Spain, where, almost forgotten, he died four years later. And yet it was the energy, determination, and nautical skill of this man that was to turn the face of Europe from the East to the West, and thus to revolutionize the commerce of the world.

Division of newly-discovered lands between Spain and Portugal, 1493–4.

§ 4. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI had confirmed the right of the Spanish to their newly-discovered islands, and, to prevent disputes between Spain and Portugal, had limited the area of Spanish oceanic enterprise to the west of a meridian line to be drawn 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. A little later, this restriction was withdrawn, and the whole field was declared open, but the Spaniards were to approach only by the western route, and not to interfere with the Portuguese along the coasts of Africa. Eventually, in 1494, the two countries made a treaty by which the line limiting the area of Spanish enterprise was to be drawn 370, instead of 100, leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

Later work of the Portuguese. Route to India via the Cape, 1497–8.

§ 5. Thus the Portuguese were left free to continue their own special work round the coast of Africa. Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, and, having sailed by way of Mozambique and Mombassa, on May 20, 1498, anchored in the Bay of Calicut, on

the Malabar coast of India, thus being the first to find an over-sea route from Europe to India.

The Portuguese were not welcomed by the Arabs, who were at that time masters of all the Eastern trade and had one of their chief emporiums at Calicut, and future Portuguese expeditions met with much opposition from these traders. Da Gama himself, after suffering imprisonment and almost assassination at the hands of the Moslem ruler of Calicut, returned home in 1499, taking with him rubies and other precious stones, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs, as well as much information about India, Malacca, and the East Indies.

His successor, Affonso de Albuquerque (1509–15), took Goa, Malacca, and Ormuz from the Arabs. By 1514 the whole of the trade from India to Persia and through Mesopotamia to Syria was in the hands of the Portuguese, and the goods from the East were now sent to the West by way of the Cape. The effect of this change was as disastrous to the Venetians as to the Moslems, for Venice had had almost entire control of the carrying trade between the Eastern Mediterranean and the rest of Europe.

English work in discovery: (*a*) Newfoundland and mainland of North America visited, 1497;

§ 6. During these years the English sailors were not inactive; many expeditions were made from Bristol, and in 1496 John Cabot, a Venetian citizen in the English pay, set forth from that port with his three sons, bearing a charter from Henry VII, which authorized them to enter into the northern, western, and eastern (but not the southern) seas, and gain new lands for the English crown. The Cabots, landing on the mainland of America before Columbus, investigated the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador, and reached as far south as Cape Cod, but the reports they brought back did not encourage

the English to hope for a profitable trade with that part of the New World, and their expedition was not followed by other similar ones. During the sixteenth century the energies of the English sailors were expended chiefly in attempts to find a north-west and a north-east passage to India, and in attacks on the treasure-ships of Spain. It was experience gained in adventures against the Spaniards that fitted Francis Drake for his voyage round the world, 1577–80. He was the first Englishman to accomplish the feat, but he had been preceded by the Spaniards, whose vessels, commanded by the Portuguese Magellan, sailed into the Pacific through the Magellan Straits in 1520. Magellan died in the Philippines in the next year, but the voyage was completed via the Cape of Good Hope in 1522.

(*b*) Attempts to find north-west and north-east passages to India.

Voyages round the world.

Navigation of shores of South America.

§ 7. Both the Spaniards and the Portuguese had done much to investigate the eastern shores of South America during the earlier years of the century, and the continent was named after a tradesman, Amerigo Vespucci, who, having accompanied one of the Spanish expeditions and afterwards written an account of his adventures, was popularly supposed to be its discoverer.

Spanish conquests on mainland: (*a*) Mexico, 1522;

§ 8. The Spaniards had not found the West Indian colonies very profitable, and had been much disappointed not to discover more gold there, but they were soon to be consoled. In 1518 the Mexican *pueblos* (villages) were first seen from a distance by the Spaniards; in 1519 Cortes, at the head of a Spanish expedition, landed in Mexico, and, burning his boats behind him that retreat might be impossible, proceeded to conquer the inhabitants. There were many large towns and hundreds of flourishing villages in Mexico; the people, though still cannibals, were remarkably advanced in the arts of life, but they were finally conquered by Cortes

before the end of 1522. The country was rich in gold and silver, and enormous quantities were sent to Spain.

Ten years later, the Spaniard Pizarro invaded and conquered the lands of the Incas of Peru. Imagine the intellectual effect that must have been produced on Europeans by the tales brought back by these sailors. The Incas, unknown to other civilized people, in a land only just discovered to Europe, had developed a remarkable civilization of their own; they had built magnificent fortresses and gorgeous temples, their system of irrigation and their manufactures were most advanced, while their laws, their provisions for justice, and the paternal despotism of their government were such that their people knew far less than Europeans of poverty, hardship, and suffering. Twenty years before Pizarro's conquest, a young barbarian chief had first told the Spaniard Balbao of this land, saying, 'If this (gold) is what you prize so much that you are willing to leave your distant homes and risk even life itself for it, I can tell you of a land where they eat and drink out of golden vessels, and gold is as cheap as iron is with you.' But even this description gave only a feeble idea of the remarkable wealth of precious metals in Peru. Pizarro found vast hoards of gold and silver stored up and apparently inexhaustible new mines to be worked.

(*b*) Peru, 1532.

Spain no longer needed to complain of her unprofitable colonies.

Thus, within a comparatively short period, the outline of the greater part of the world had become known, a world of commerce had been opened to Europeans, the Mediterranean had given place to the Atlantic, an unfailing source of capital had been discovered, trade and industry had been revolutionized by its use, and the modern life of the commercial world had begun.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. The intellectual effects of the discovery of the New World.
2. The Portuguese as a maritime people.
3. The Spaniards as colonists.

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CHAPTER III

THE REIGN OF MAXIMILIAN IN GERMANY 1493–1519

§ 1. Accession of Maximilian, 1493.—His character. § 2. Attitude towards reform.—Reforming policy of Berthold of Mayence.—Diet of Worms, 1495.—Diet of Augsburg and Council of Regency, 1500.—Agreement of Gelnhausen, 1502.—Aulic Council. § 3. Maximilian's improved position from 1504.—The ten Circles. § 4. Family policy of Maximilian.—Hapsburg marriages. § 5. Failure of Maximilian as Emperor.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.	*France.*
Henry VII, 1485.	Charles VIII, 1483.
Henry VIII, 1509.	Louis XII, 1498.
	Francis I, 1515.

Spain.

Isabella of Castile, 1474–1504.
Ferdinand of Aragon, 1479–1516.
Charles I, 1516.

§ 1. IN 1493, on the death of Frederick III, his son Maximilian, who had been elected King of the Romans in 1486, succeeded to the Austrian territories and the Empire. He had married (1477) Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Charles the Bold, and was thus already lord of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté. Accession of Maximilian, 1493.

Maximilian was a typical character of the Renaissance period, possessing all the fascination, brilliance, and glamour of the time in which he lived. He was as active, strong, brave, and generous as the most famous knights of chivalry, as fond of adventure and as full of His character.

hope as the men who set out across the seas to discover new routes and new lands, as much interested in art and literature as the artists and students whom he encouraged and patronized. Kindly and affable to all, he never lost his kingly dignity, and his ready sympathy and gracious manners won for him the devotion of knight, citizen, and peasant. He was full of high ideals and of brilliant projects, but his many interests, his very quickness and versatility, combined with his want of perseverance, prevented him from bringing his plans to a successful issue. As a German king Maximilian was a failure, but we cannot wonder that this lovable, fascinating, imaginative man, of brilliant intellect and wide sympathies—'Father Maximilian' as his knights called him—is still one of the heroes of the German people. And yet this knight-errant, this fantastic dreamer of dreams had serious faults. In his political negotiations he would stoop to acts of meanness and duplicity worthy of an Italian statesman of the period; he was wildly ambitious, over self-confident, and very jealous of his own authority, generally perferring for his ministers men of low origin who owed everything to him. But, always conscious of his abilities and his gifts, he was also conscious of his faults, and in his 'Teuerdank' (an epic poem describing his own adventures during the wooing of Mary of Burgundy) he recognized that the greatest dangers that beset the hero are self-conceit and a desire for adventure.

Maximilian's attitude towards reform.

§ 2. As King of the Romans[1], in his father's lifetime, Maximilian had shown a sympathy with constitutional

[1] The German King often secured the election of his successor during his own lifetime. The newly-elected ruler was crowned at Aachen and was styled 'King of the Romans'—the title assumed by the Emperors before their coronation at Rome. (See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, Appendix C, iii.)

reform that had led the reforming party to hope great things from his reign, but after his accession he had a lofty idea of his own position and was not ready to favour reforms that would lessen his prerogative.

Other projects, however, of seemingly more far-reaching importance than purely German affairs, were occupying the first place in Maximilian's thoughts during the early years of his reign. Charles VIII of France had invaded Italy,[1] and the King of the Romans wished to play his part in the struggle that was going on in the peninsula, to overthrow the increasing power of the Frenchman, and to regain the old influence of the Emperors in Italy. The history of Maximilian's foreign expeditions, pitiably unsuccessful as they were on the whole, can be best studied in connexion with the history of France and the Italian states, but they are important here in so far as they affected his German policy. To obtain supplies for these wars he was willing to make concessions to the reforming party in the Empire. The head of this party was Berthold, the Archbishop of Mayence, one of the Seven Electors. His ambition was to make a united state of Germany similar to those of France and Spain, by forming a strong, centralized government; though the supreme control over the executive was to be vested, not in the Emperor, but in the princes. In other words, the strong feeling of nationality that was beginning to throb in the hearts of all Germans was to be satisfied, and Germany was to take her place among the newly organized strong states that had sprung up in Western Europe; the part played, however, by the monarch in France, Spain, and England, was in Germany to be played by the aristocracy. It is unlikely that such a government would have been

Reforming policy of Berthold of Mayence.

[1] See ch. iv.

acceptable to the large body of smaller landowners—the knights—or to the free cities, and it is doubtful whether it could have been successful, but in any case Maximilian, although willing to support moderate reform, had no intention of allowing his own authority, slight as it was in reality, to be superseded.

The Diet of Worms, 1495.

In 1495, in need of money and men, he summoned the Diet of Worms. By the Edict of Worms, issued by his Diet:—

(*a*) The 'common penny' (a tax on all property and a poll-tax on people of small means) was to be collected throughout the Empire and part of it to be granted to the Emperor. The rest was to be in the hands of nominees of the Diet, who were responsible for collection and expenditure.

(*b*) The Imperial Chamber, the supreme court of justice, was to be reorganized. Its sessions were to be in a fixed place and it was no longer to follow the King. The sixteen members were to be nominated by the Diet, the president only being appointed by the Emperor. The Chamber was to have authority to settle all cases of dispute between states in the Empire, and to hear cases of appeal brought from other courts.

(*c*) The Diet was to meet annually and the Emperor was to decide no important matters without its advice.

The reforming party had gained much, though by no means all that it had hoped, but both Maximilian and the Estates were disappointed in the results of the concessions. It was found impossible to collect the 'common penny' satisfactorily, and, though the Imperial Chamber tried the cases brought before it and in many instances gave justice where previously there would have been none, there was no authority to see that its decisions were always enforced. A central

administrative body was needed, but this Maximilian had declined to grant.

Diet of Augsburg and the Council of Regency, 1500.

Yet to this scheme also he gave his consent at the Diet of Augsburg in 1500, being driven to it by the failure of his Italian expedition and his great need of support. The Council of Regency, as this new executive body was called, was to be presided over by the Emperor or a deputy nominated by him, his Austrian and Netherlandish dominions were each to have one member in the Council, each of the Electors had the right of sitting personally (one of them must always be present) or sending a deputy, and the other twelve members were representative (a count and a bishop from each) of the six Circles or districts into which Germany was divided. The Council was to have the chief executive power in the Empire—to decide questions of peace and war, to maintain order, to appoint the members of the Imperial Chamber, and to collect taxes. It was also to summon the Diet, which was still to retain its control of legislation and finance. In return for this concession the Diet ordered a levy of men which was to provide the King with an army of 30,000. The result of the levy was not satisfactory to Maximilian, and the next year he broke with the Council of Regency, which soon ceased to meet.

Agreement of Gelnhausen, 1502.

The relations between the King and the Electors became more and more strained, and in 1502 the latter, at a meeting of the Estates called by their own authority at Gelnhausen, solemnly agreed to resist the Emperor to the uttermost. Meanwhile, Maximilian himself had established an Aulic Council which was entirely under his own control, and could act both as a High Court of Justice and as a supreme administrative body. It was to deal with 'all and every business that can flow

Maximilian's Aulic Council.

in from the Empire, Christendom at large, or the King's hereditary principalities'. In the end, this Aulic Council came to be a somewhat formidable rival to the Imperial Chamber.

Maximilian's improved position from 1504.

§ 3. In the latter half of his reign, Maximilian's position in the Empire was improved; in 1504 his chief opponent, Berthold of Mayence, died, and in the same year the King defeated the most powerful of the Electors, Frederick the Victorious, on the question of the Landshut succession,[1] and, having defeated and slain Frederick's son Rupert, one of the claimants, he persuaded the Diet of Cologne (1505) to divide the Landshut lands between himself and the Dukes of Bavaria. The younger generation of princes who were rising into power were many of them personally devoted to the Emperor, who had also greatly extended his influence in Europe by arranging brilliant marriages for his children and grandchildren.

In spite of this improvement in his position, Maximilian was still in need of support for his foreign wars and was consequently obliged to demand help from his Diets, with whom he continued to disagree. Very little more was accomplished in the way of reform, but in 1512 a plan was made for dividing Germany into ten Circles—the six old ones of Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony, and the four new ones of Upper Saxony with Brandenburg, the Rhenish Electorates, Austria, and Burgundy. Over each Circle was put a captain who was responsible for the administrative and military work of his district.

The ten Circles, 1512.

[1] Duke George of Landshut died in December, 1503, without male heirs. Three claimants appeared: Rupert, the second son of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, and the two Dukes of Bavaria. Maximilian supported the latter.

§ 4. It was as head of the Hapsburg House that Maximilian achieved his greatest success. By brilliant marriage treaties he added much to the dominions of his family, and seemed almost to make possible in the future the realization of his dream of a universal Empire for his House. He himself was lord of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Swabia, and Alsace. He had gained the Netherlands and Franche-Comté by his first marriage, and in 1496 he had married his son Philip to Joanna, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella. Philip died in 1506, and Maximilian's grandson, Charles, thus became heir to all the Spanish lands in the Old and New Worlds, as well as to the Hapsburg and most of the Burgundian dominions. The kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, which had been united to Austria by Albert II (1438–9), were now held by Vladislav, son of a former King of Poland, but the succession had been promised (1491) to the Hapsburgs, on the extinction of the male descendants of that sovereign. Maximilian made this succession more certain by arranging a treaty (1515) whereby his grandson Ferdinand was married to Anne, daughter of Vladislav, and his granddaughter Mary to Anne's brother, Lewis. Lewis died without male heirs in 1526, and Ferdinand was acknowledged as his successor, though much of the Hungarian land passed for a time into the possession of the Turks, who supported the claims of the Transylvanian John Zapolya, an opponent and rival of Ferdinand.

Family policy of Maximilian.

§ 5. In the Empire Maximilian lost both territory and authority. The Swiss had long made themselves independent of the House of Hapsburg as such, but nominally they still owed allegiance to the Emperor. In 1499, however, after a brief struggle with Maximilian in which he was worsted, they established

Failure of Maximilian as Emperor.

their independence from Imperial taxation and jurisdiction.

Maximilian entirely failed to recover the Imperial authority in Italy. He was never crowned Emperor by the Pope, but in 1508, without the ceremony but with the consent of the Papal Legate, he assumed the title of Emperor-Elect, and his example was followed by his successors, his grandson Charles being the only one to receive the Papal coronation.

Organization and strengthening of states within the Empire.

The failure of the reformers in their attempt to change the Empire into a strong German state led to the establishment, though not without opposition from the knights and the cities, of strong centralized states within the Empire, and the rulers of these acknowledged less and less the authority of the Emperor.

'In the midst of the Renaissance, under the consciousness that former things were passing from the earth, and a new order opening, with the other beliefs and memories of the Middle Age, the shadowy rights of the Roman Empire melted away in the fuller modern light. . . . To its possessors it had become merely an engine for exalting the power of the House of Hapsburg.'[1] 'As with Maximilian the Austrian monarchy begins, so with him the Holy Empire in its old meaning ends.'[2]

Maximilian as German king.

§ 6. We have already seen that Maximilian's influence and authority as German King were used in opposition to the attempts to make a united German state. 'No man was fuller of the longing for German unity as an ideal, no man did more to perpetuate the very real divisions of the land.'[3] And yet, though hindering the rise of the German state, Maximilian, by the part that

[1] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 314–15.
[2] Ibid., p. 312.
[3] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 39.

he played in the intellectual and artistic life of his times, by his patronage of German students and German artists, by his encouragement of the German towns in their increasing prosperity and culture, had done much for the German nation.

§ 7. On Jan. 19, 1519, Maximilian died. He was buried at Wiener Neustadt, the town of his birth, in the magnificent tomb which he had had erected during the last years of his life, and for the adornment of which he had called together the best artists of Austria and Germany, though, like most of Maximilian's plans, the scheme was not completed when he died. 'In the heart of his favourite Tyrol, under the shade of the mountains that he loved, the most glorious monument of the German Renaissance worthily enshrines the prince, who, with all his faults and failures, had no small share in bringing his country into the full blaze of modern life.'[1]

Death of Maximilian, 1519.

SUGGESTIONS OF SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

1. 'Maximilian may almost be called a type of that Germany over which he was called to rule.' Discuss this statement.

2. To what extent was Maximilian the founder of the Hapsburg monarchy?

3. What attempts were made in Maximilian's reign to form a national government in Germany? How far were these attempts successful?

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[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. i, pp. 326–7.

Book II

THE BALANCE OF POWER

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH AND THEIR RIVALS IN ITALY, 1494–1516

§ 1. Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. § 2. French claims on Naples and Milan. § 3. Charles VIII's first invasion of Italy, 1494.—Conquest of Naples. § 4. Return of Charles to France, 1495. § 5. Overthrow of French rule in Naples, 1495–6. § 6. Death of Charles VIII and accession of Louis XII, 1498. § 7. League between France, Venice, and Papacy.—Second French invasion of Italy, 1499.—First French conquest of Milan, 1499.—Second French conquest of Milan, 1500. § 8. French intentions against Naples.—Treaty of Granada, 1500. § 9. The war of Naples.—French again driven from Naples. § 10. The Borgias in the Papal States.—Pope Julius II, 1503–13. § 11. League of Cambray.—Battle of Agnadello, 1509. § 12. The Holy League, 1511.—Battle of Ravenna, 1512.—Sforza and Medici restored. § 13. Spanish conquest of Navarre, 1513.—Battles of Spurs and Flodden.—Death of Louis XII, 1515. § 14. Francis I of France, 1515–47.—Battle of Marignano, 1515.—Third French conquest of Milan. § 15. Treaties of Bologna, 1516, Noyon, 1516, and London, 1518.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.

Henry VII, 1485.
Henry VIII, 1509.

France.

Charles VIII, 1483.
Louis XII, 1498.
Francis I, 1515.

Spain.

Isabella of Castile, 1474–1504.
Ferdinand of Aragon, 1479–1516.
Charles I, 1516.

The Empire.

Maximilian I, 1493.

The Papacy.

Alexander VI, 1492.
Pius III, 1503.
Julius II, 1503.
Leo X, 1513.

§ 1. 'ITALY is merely a geographical expression,' said the Austrian Metternich in the nineteenth century, and well might this have been said in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Italy, the partner of Germany in the Holy Roman Empire, and (perhaps still more to her disadvantage) the land that contained the temporal dominions and the capital of the Papacy, there was neither an Italian state nor an Italian nation. The five great states (p. 8) and the many smaller principalities had each pursued a selfish policy and sought only its own aggrandizement. From the year 1494—a turning-point in the history of Italy and of Europe—they began to reap the reward of such policy, for, from that date, the armies of the newly organized states of Western Europe were let loose on the peninsula, and one and all struggled to gain for themselves as much as possible of so fair a prey.

Italy at the end of the fifteenth century.

§ 2. French claims to Naples and Milan formed an excuse for the first French invasion of Italy in 1494. In 1491 Charles VIII of France (1483–98) had married Anne, Duchess of Brittany. This marriage roused all the enemies of France. Maximilian was doubly incensed; he had himself been married by proxy to the Duchess Anne, while his daughter, Margaret, was betrothed to Charles VIII, her dower of Artois and Franche-Comté having been already paid. Henry VII of England, at one time a refugee at the Breton Court, resented the attack on the Duchess, and Ferdinand of Aragon took the opportunity of reclaiming Rousillon. At this time the King took the government into his own hands, but his mind was filled with far more brilliant and engaging projects than the putting down of these enemies. For, in 1492, there arrived at his Court Neapolitan princes who had been driven out of their

French claims on Naples and Milan.

own land by the tyrannical rule of their King, Ferdinand II; these now urged Charles to enforce his claims on the crown of Naples—claims which he had inherited by will from René of Anjou [1].

The French had claims also on Milan, for Louis of Orleans, cousin and heir of Charles VIII, was the descendant of the Visconti rulers of Milan,[2] and looked upon the Sforza family as usurpers. At this time the power in Milan was in the hands of Ludovico Sforza, the uncle of the rightful Duke, Gian Galeazzo, whom Ludovico would not allow to be recognized, though he had in 1492 reached the age of twenty. Gian Galeazzo however, was married to the granddaughter of the King of Naples, and her family were determined to support her husband's claims to Milan. Ludovico recognized his danger from Naples and from France, so he decided to rid himself of both at once by supporting the exiled Neapolitan princes and urging Charles to enforce his 'right to the fine kingdom of Naples'. 'The King was young, a fledgeling from the nest; provided neither with money nor with good sense; weak, wilful, and surrounded by foolish counsellors,' wrote Commines of Charles at this time. 'The vanity of the young King was tickled by the Italian proposals and, in opposition to the advice of Anne of Beaujeu and his wiser counsellors, he made peace with all his enemies and prepared to invade Italy. He put stores into Marseilles and Genoa for the fleet which was to co-operate with him along the coasts, and moved with his army to Lyons; there he spent some time indulging his desire

[1] René, as representative of the House of Anjou, disputed the title of the Aragonese rulers of Naples, on the ground that the crown had been left to the Angevins by Joanna II of Naples in 1435.

[2] See Genealogical Table II.

for pleasure, until he was at last persuaded to move by the Cardinal della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II), who hoped that Charles would call a General Council of the Church and depose Pope Alexander VI.

French invasion of Italy, 1494.

§ 3. Charles crossed the Alps by M. Genèvre in September, 1494; he was welcomed at Asti by Ludovico Sforza, and there, as at Lyons, he spent some time in tournaments, dancing, and love-making, being afterwards detained a little longer by illness. From Asti he moved to Pavia, where he had to endure the tearful entreaties of Isabella of Aragon, sister of Alfonso of Naples, who prayed for his help on behalf of her husband, Gian Galeazzo. When he reached Piacenza he heard that the unfortunate young man had died (probably from poison), and that his uncle Ludovico had been accepted as Duke of Milan. Ludovico already began to wish that he had not tried to hasten the French invasion of Italy. Charles had been welcomed by Milan and had received no opposition from the neutral state of Venice, while the citizens of Florence, old allies of France, were prepared to welcome him whom Savonarola described as 'the scourge sent by God to purify Italy'. Piero de' Medici, however, the ruler of Florence, and the Pope had both agreed to assist Alfonso II of Naples[1] against the French. After leaving Piacenza Charles decided to cross the Apennines, the passes of which Piero de' Medici had undertaken to defend against him. These were not defended because of the differences between Piero and the Florentines, and Charles arrived at Sarzana, where Piero, thoroughly alarmed, hastened to meet him, satisfied all his demands, promising him money, and yielding up not Sarzana only, but Pisa, Leghorn, and

[1] Ferdinand of Naples, father of Alfonso II, had died in January, 1494.

Pietra-Santra, the other fortresses subject to Florence, as well. On his return to Florence the people, though favourable to the French, rose in fury at Piero's abandonment of all their interests, drove him out of the city, and set up a republic. At Pisa Charles promised the citizens freedom from the hated yoke of Florence and listened to a magnificent address from Savonarola, who brought to him an invitation from his city and addressed him as the chosen vessel of the Lord, but warned him that, as such, he must show mercy. In November Charles entered Florence, not as guest but as conqueror, but the citizens were not prepared for this attitude, and Charles, while receiving part of the money he demanded, felt it expedient to leave the city and to promise the return of the fortresses to Florence at the end of the campaign.

Medici expelled from Florence, Nov. 1494.

From Tuscany he passed into Siena, and thence entered the Papal States; all his enemies melted away before him, and Pope Alexander VI, whose evil life (p. 111) and negotiations with the Turk (p. 98) led all his enemies to cry for a General Council, trembled for his own safety. On December 31, 1494, Charles entered Rome, Alexander having shut himself up in his castle of San Angelo. The King did not call a General Council to depose the Pope, but made a treaty with him instead. The Pope agreed to surrender some of the Papal fortresses; to give a cardinal's hat to Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo, the low-born favourite of Charles; to hand over to the French King Djem, the Sultan's brother, whom he was keeping a prisoner; and to allow his own son, Caesar Borgia, to accompany Charles as hostage.

Charles in Rome, Dec. 1494–Jan. 1495.

From Rome the French King marched on Naples, and once more his enemies melted away before him. Alfonso II abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand, and fled to Sicily; Ferdinand, finding resistance hopeless,

fled to Ischia, promising to return whenever the Neapolitans should send for him, and on February 22, 1495, Charles entered Naples. His dreams were realized —he was King of Naples. Without striking a blow, he had passed as conqueror from one end of Italy to the other. But his success was to be short-lived. While he was still in Naples, indulging his love of pleasure in his usual manner, the League of Venice was being formed against him. This league was joined by Venice, Milan, the Pope, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Maximilian.

Charles in Naples, Feb.–May, 1495.

Formation of League of Venice, March, 1495.

§ 4. Charles dallied in Naples, and it was not till May 21, the day after his coronation, that he set forth from the city, leaving part of his army to guard his interests in the Southern kingdom. Rapidly he returned by the way he had come, refusing as he passed through Tuscany to redeem his promise of returning the garrisoned fortresses to Florence. He recrossed the Apennines successfully, but at Fornovo, on the banks of the Taro, on July 6, 1495, he was obliged to meet the army of the league. His own army had been weakened by supplying garrisons in Naples and Tuscany, and its numbers still further lessened by disease and the long marches, while his opponents were far more numerous and quite fresh. But still good fortune smiled on Charles. The enemy were ill-disciplined and divided, and the battle was indecisive. The French King proceeded to Asti and thence to Turin, where he waited till Louis of Orleans, who had been prosecuting his claim to the duchy of Milan, could come to terms with Ludovico. On October 10 the Treaty of Vercelli was made, Ludovico was confirmed in the possession of his duchy, and Charles recrossed the Alps. 'The tornado had swept the peninsula from north to south and returned

Battle of Fornovo, July, 1495.

Recrossing of the Alps, Oct., 1495.

upon its path from south to north within the space of a few months, but it had left ineffaceable traces on the country which it traversed and changed the whole complexion of the politics of Europe.'[1]

Overthrow of the French rule in Naples, 1495–6.

§ 5. Meanwhile in Naples the people had soon grown weary of the evil rule of the French. At their invitation their former King, Ferdinand II, returned, and, with the help sent by Ferdinand of Aragon and the Venetians, succeeded in driving the French from one fortress after another, until, by the end of 1496, all was lost to France. Ferdinand had died in September, 1496, and his uncle Frederick had succeeded to the throne, being the fifth King to wear the crown of Naples within three years.

Louis XII of France, 1498–1515.

§ 6. Charles VIII died in 1498, and was succeeded by his cousin, Louis of Orleans, who thus became Louis XII of France; divorcing his wife, Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI, he married Anne of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII, so that the duchy might not be lost to the French crown. The rule of Louis and his favourite minister, George of Amboise, was very popular in France, and his reign was, on the whole, a time of peace and prosperity for the land, but Louis' ambition was not satisfied with a successful home policy, and he was determined to prosecute his claims on Milan and on Naples.

§ 7. The League of Venice was already breaking up. Venice was on bad terms with Milan, and Alexander VI, eager for any alliance that might advance his ambitious schemes for the aggrandizement of his own family, joined Louis, and in August, 1499, once more a French army crossed the Alps. In less than a month Milan had opened its gates to the French, and Ludovico had fled for help to Maximilian at Innsbrück. Louis made a

First French conquest of Milan, Sept., 1499.

[1] Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 114.

Lombard, Trivulzio, Governor of Milan; this choice was unfortunate, the Milanese hated his partisan rule, and by February, 1500, were ready again to welcome back Ludovico. The French were forced to surrender their conquests, but Ludovico's success was not a lasting one; on April 5 he was taken prisoner, and twelve days later the French re-entered Milan. Ludovico died in 1508, a prisoner in France. The Venetians were rewarded for their help by the cession of the land between the Adda and their own western boundary, while the Swiss received the district round Bellinzona in the north of the duchy of Milan.

Second French conquest of Milan, April, 1500.

§ 8. Louis was determined to restore the French authority in Naples. His most dangerous opponent was Ferdinand of Aragon, who had helped to bring back the Aragonese monarchs after the raid of Charles VIII and also had some claims on Naples himself. Ferdinand now suggested that Frederick of Naples, who was accused of negotiating with the Turks, should be driven from his kingdom, and his dominions divided between France and Spain, so that they might form a base of operations against the Turks. On this understanding the Treaty of Granada was made in November, 1500. Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria, the parts nearest to his own kingdom of Sicily, and Louis the northern part, with the title of King. 'It was the first of those partition treaties by which peoples were handed over from one government to another as appendages of family estates.' In June, 1501, the Pope confirmed the treaty, and in July Frederick, thus deserted by his former friend, Ferdinand of Aragon, surrendered Naples to the French, and he too ended his life as a prisoner in France. The Spaniards found the conquest of the southern portion of the kingdom more difficult, but they

Treaty of Granada, Nov., 1500.

Frederick II driven from Naples, 1501.

succeeded in taking Taranto, the last fortress, in March, 1502. Thus quickly had Naples once more been conquered.

The war of Naples between France and Spain, 1502–4.

§ 9. But Louis and Ferdinand soon began to quarrel over the partition, and the war of Naples (1502–4) began. In this war the chivalry of France, led by the famous warrior, La Palice, and the Chevalier Bayard[1] himself, strove against the 'Great Captain' of Spain, Gonsalvo de Cordova. At first the French were successful, but, after being defeated at Seminara and Cerignola in April, 1503, they were forced to surrender Naples in May. Finally, in December, the Great Captain utterly defeated them on the Garigliano, and early in 1504 they withdrew from the kingdom.

Gonsalvo de Cordova had won Naples for Spain.

Success of the Borgias in the Papal States.

§ 10. During these years Alexander VI and his son Caesar Borgia had been unscrupulously pursuing their policy of adding to the Papal dominions, and creating the States of the Church into a great secular power for the Borgia family (pp. 111–12), but Alexander VI died suddenly in 1503, and his son's career was stopped at the same time by illness.

Pope Julius II, 1503–13.

After the brief Pontificate of Pius III (August–October, 1503) Cardinal della Rovere, the enemy of the Borgias, was elected Pope as Julius II, and Caesar soon found that his conquests had only increased the Papal power. Julius II was determined to continue the Borgia policy, though from other motives, and to win back everything

[1] Pierre du Terrail, Chevalier de Bayard (1476–1524), was a Frenchman of noble family. He was knighted by Charles VIII after the battle of Fornovo (1495) and won great renown during the wars in Italy. 'He combined the merits of a skilful tactician with the romantic heroism, piety, and magnanimity of the ideal knight-errant.' Friends and adversaries agreed in calling him 'Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche'.

that could possibly be claimed for the Papacy; in particular, he desired to wrest the three cities in the Romagna—Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna—from Venice.

§ 11. There was a general feeling against Venice at this time, partly because even during the turmoils of the last ten or twelve years she had been successful in largely increasing her possessions in the peninsula. The Pope was irritated by the refusal of the Venetians to recognize certain spiritual claims of the Papacy in their lands, and he also wanted the cities in the Romagna; Ferdinand of Aragon longed to recover Trani, Otranto, Gallipoli, and Brindisi, which Venice had acquired in return for her help in the struggle against the French in 1495; Louis XII wished to win back the strip of land east of the Adda—the price paid for Venetian help in 1499 and 1500—and other former Milanese possessions now held by Venice; Maximilian had old and new grievances against the Republic, and also hoped to recover Friuli.

League of Cambray, 1508.

Under these circumstances it was not difficult to form a league against Venice, and in 1508 Maximilian, Louis XII, the Pope, and Ferdinand joined the League of Cambray, with the object of despoiling the proud Republic of her possessions. Ludovico had suffered for the first welcome to the French in 1494, Venice was to suffer for the second one in 1499.

Battle of Agnadello, 1509.

Of the members of the league the French were the first to take the field, and, aided by the Swiss, they utterly defeated the Venetians at the battle of Agnadello, May, 1509. Venice bowed before the storm. Louis XII was allowed to occupy the places he desired, the cities in the Romagna were given up to the Pope, and the Apulian towns to Ferdinand, while Verona, Vicenza, and Padua yielded their keys to the emissaries of Maximilian.

But before long a reaction took place in favour of Venice, and her former subjects, realizing the advantages of her rule, rose to defend her. Padua was retaken in July, the Emperor himself was obliged to retire unsuccessful from her walls in October, and, later in the year, Vicenza also returned to Venetian rule.

The loyalty of her subjects had stemmed the tide for Venice, the divisions of her enemies were to turn it.

In February, 1510, the Venetians came to terms with the Pope, and the warlike Julius, having been successful in gaining one of his objects, now determined, in spite of the league, to free Italy from the foreigner.

The Holy League, 1511.

§ 12. He began by attacking the French, and for this purpose formed the Holy League with Venice and Ferdinand against France (October, 1511). This league was soon joined by Henry VIII of England and later by Maximilian and the Swiss.

At first the French were successful, being led by the youthful commander Gaston de Foix—the 'Thunderbolt of Italy', as he was called from the rapidity of his movements. In February, 1512, he forced his enemies to raise the siege of Bologna, and within ten days took Brescia, afterwards hastening back to Bologna. From there he marched toward Ravenna and assaulted the town. On Easter Day, 1512, in a battle that lasted from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., Gaston de Foix, rivalling the feats of Roland at Roncesvalles, won a glorious victory for the French. But the victory was dearly bought by the loss of the brilliant leader at the age of twenty-three.

Battle of Ravenna, 1512.

What might have been the result of the war if Gaston had lived it is impossible to say. As it was, the French were driven out of Milan by the Swiss in May, and soon afterwards recrossed the Alps.

French driven out of Italy, 1512.

Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico, received the duchy of Milan, while the Florentines were punished for their support of France by the restoration of the Medici.

Julius II died in February, 1513, having lived to witness the partial triumph of his policy.

§ 13. But the humiliation of Louis XII was not complete. Preparations to invade France were made by two members of the league, Ferdinand and Henry VIII, and the latter had a third member, the penniless Maximilian, in his pay.

Conquest of Spanish Navarre by Ferdinand, 1513.

The attention of Ferdinand was turned to the little kingdom of Navarre, and in July, 1513, he succeeded in conquering the portion of it that lay on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees.

Battles of Spurs and Flodden, 1513.

In the next month, Henry VIII and Maximilian defeated the French at Guinegaste in a battle known, from the flight of the French, as the battle of Spurs, and soon after (Sept., 1513) James IV of Scotland, the ally of Louis XII, was defeated and killed at Flodden Field, in an attempt to turn the attention of the English King from France. But neither Ferdinand nor the Pope (the Medicean Leo X) wished to see France utterly ruined, and soon Louis came to terms with his enemies. He confirmed Ferdinand in his possession of Navarre (1513) and married Henry VIII's sister, Mary (1514). In 1515 he died, deeply regretted by his French subjects.

Francis I of France, 1515–47.

§ 14. Louis was succeeded by his cousin, Francis of Angoulême, who had married Louis' daughter Claude in order that Brittany might not be lost to the crown. Francis was young, ambitious, and eager for glory. He was determined to recover Milan, and, having allied himself with Venice and England, crossed the Alps by

French invasion of Italy, 1515.

the then unknown route over the Col de l'Argentière, in August, 1515. The league that had been formed to oppose him included Ferdinand, the Emperor, Florence, Milan, and the Swiss, but most of the allies were determined to fight for their own hand, and the brunt of repelling the invasion fell on the Swiss.

Battle of Marignano, Sept., 1515.

The two forces met at Marignano on September 13, and the fight, which began that day and was continued at dawn on the morrow, was described by the Lombard Trivulzio, who had himself fought in seventeen pitched contests, as a battle of the giants. Towards midday on September 14 the Swiss, defeated, withdrew in good order to Milan, bearing their wounded with them. For a brief space they had entered as a great and independent power into European politics, but that time was now at an end.

Third French conquest of Milan, 1515.

The French were once more established in Milan, and Maximilian Sforza became a pensioner of France.

§ 15. Francis I now made peace with all his enemies. By the Treaty of Bologna (1516) Leo X restored Parma and Piacenza to Milan, and, by abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction of 1439, destroyed the independence of the French Church, at the same time establishing the ecclesiastical authority of both King and Pope. By the Treaty of Noyon (1516), made with Charles of Spain (Ferdinand had died earlier in 1516), Francis gave up all claims on Naples, and the French right to Milan was acknowledged. Maximilian also accepted this treaty, and in 1518 Henry VIII, too, came to terms with Francis.

After more than twenty years of strife in Italy, Europe enjoyed a brief interval in peace.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. To what extent was Ludovico Sforza responsible for the French invasions of Italy? How were his own fortunes affected by these invasions?

2. Explain the causes of the formation of the League of Cambray, and discuss the effect upon Venice of the war that followed.

3. 'The Italian expedition of Charles VIII marks a new epoch in the politics of Europe.' Explain this statement.

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CHAPTER V

RIVALRY BETWEEN THE VALOIS AND THE HAPSBURGS. PERIOD I. 1519-29

§ 1. Death of Maximilian, 1519. — Candidates for Imperial throne.—Characters of Francis, Charles, and Henry.—Election of Charles V, 1519. § 2. Causes of rivalry between Charles and Francis.—Policy of Henry VIII and Leo X. § 3. Campaigns of 1521 and 1522.—War in the Netherlands and in Navarre.—War in Italy. § 4. Alliances with Charles, 1522, 1523.—Death of Pope Adrian VI.—Election of Clement VII, 1523.—Charles of Bourbon. § 5. Campaigns of 1523.—French in Italy.—English in Picardy.—Spanish attack on Bayonne. § 6. Plans of allies for 1524.—Marseilles besieged by Bourbon.—Francis in Milan.—Battle of Pavia, 1525.—Treaty of Madrid, 1526. § 7. Second war between Francis and Charles, 1526–9.—Holy League of Cognac, 1526.—Milan taken by Imperialists.—Sack of Rome, 1526.—The French in Lombardy.—Siege of Naples, 1528.—Battle of Aversa, 1528.—Battle of Landriano, 1529.—Treaty of Barcelona, 1529.—Treaty of Cambray, 1529. § 8. Coronation of Charles at Bologna.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.	*France.*	*The Empire.*	*The Papacy.*	*The Ottoman Empire.*
Henry VIII, 1509-47.	Francis I, 1515-47.	Charles V, 1519–56 (also King of Spain).	Leo X, 1513. Adrian VI, 1522. Clement VII, 1523.	Selim I, 1512. Solyman II, 1520.

§ 1. THE peace which Europe gained in 1516 was indeed short-lived. On January 19, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died and the rivalry between Francis I of France and Charles I of Spain soon plunged Europe into wars which lasted for forty years, tying the hands of the Christians in their struggle with the Turks, and

preventing Charles from effectively dealing with the Reformation movement which was already beginning in Germany.

In 1519 three young and ambitious monarchs ruled in Spain, France, and England. Of these Henry VIII of England was the eldest and had ruled the longest, but the insularity of his kingdom made his direct interference in European affairs optional. Francis I of France had inherited a strong and compact kingdom, which included part of the old Burgundian lands, and was bordered on the south-west by Spain and on the north-east by Charles's possessions in the Netherlands. The French claim to Milan also had been recognized by the treaty of 1516. Charles was ruler of Spain, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, the Hapsburg dominions, and Naples, as well as the Spanish possessions in the New World, but these lands were scattered, and their very extent had the effect of weakening rather than strengthening his position.

Candidates for the Imperial throne.

All three of these young rulers were possessed of vast ambition. In other respects the characters of the French and Spanish monarchs presented strong contrasts. Francis—splendid in appearance in spite of the thin legs that supported his broad body, the patron of art and literature, witty, chivalrous, physically brave, and fond of adventure, the victor of Marignano—appealed to the imagination of his subjects and enjoyed a brilliant reputation. It was only as years passed by that his sensuality and self-indulgence, his shallowness, his want of moral courage, and his meanness were fully revealed, and even then his kindliness and good nature caused him to retain to the end the affection of his subjects.

Francis I of France

Charles, on the other hand, was not attractive in appearance, neither was his character a showy one. The

Charles I of Spain.

son of a Spanish mother and a half-German, half-Flemish father, he himself in both education and sympathy was essentially Flemish. Silent, serious, and reserved, he appeared to be dull and stupid, without initiative and without ambition, but years revealed in him true elements of greatness, and his dogged perseverance, his energy, his practical capacity, and his sagacity proved him a far greater statesman than his superficial but more attractive rival.

Henry VIII of England.

The English Henry VIII was tall and well-built, and not at that time so corpulent as in the pictures with which we are most familiar. His fair complexion caused his appearance to be vastly admired on the Continent, and his skill in all manly sports and martial exercises, his patronage of the New Learning, and his love of music and literature, combined with his fascination of manner, made him attractive to all men. Under this pleasing exterior was a great deal of power, fixed determination, and unlimited ambition. It was the latter which led Henry to desire to play a great part on the Continent, and by granting his support or withholding it, to hold the scales and balance the power of the monarchs of France and Spain. 'He whom I favour wins' was the motto set up over his tent in 1520 at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The Imperial election.

On the death of Maximilian these three rulers were candidates for the Imperial throne. The candidature of Henry VIII can hardly have been a very serious one. Francis I, not far-seeing enough to realize how much the possession of the Empire would weaken him, was determined to be made Emperor even if 'he had to spend three millions of gold' to attain his object, while Charles looked on the position as belonging almost by right to himself as representative of the Hapsburg family.

The majority of the Electors, partly because of bribes lavishly bestowed by the French agents, partly from jealousy of the Hapsburg House, were at first inclined to favour Francis, but national feeling could not be altogether ignored, and the German nation, led by the Swabian League and joined by the Swiss, supported Charles.

The opposition of the Medicean Pope Leo X to the election of Charles on the ground that the King of Naples could not legally occupy the Imperial throne only annoyed the Electors, and on July 5, 1519, Charles was declared Emperor without one dissentient voice. Henceforward he is known as Charles V.

Causes of rivalry between Charles and Francis.

§ 2. War between Francis and Charles was now almost inevitable. There were many causes of rivalry besides the purely personal. Milan, now held by Francis, was an Imperial fief that had never been granted to its new possessor; Francis had inherited the Angevin claim to Naples, now in the hands of Charles; by the Treaty of Noyon (1516) Charles was to have returned Spanish Navarre to the d'Albrets, but this had never been done; Francis held the duchy of Burgundy, part of the Burgundian inheritance of Charles, and the two monarchs had rival claims in Flanders and Artois. Although his country was still suffering from the great expense of the former Italian wars, Francis was better prepared for war than Charles, who had to deal with a serious rebellion of his Spanish subjects against their Flemish rulers, and was at the same time called upon to face the Lutheran question in Germany. In this country, too, his prolonged absence was already causing great dissatisfaction. As long delay as possible before the outbreak of war, therefore, was what Charles needed.

Meanwhile both he and Francis looked around for

allies, they 'wooed that coyest of Princes, Henry VIII', and strove for the support of the calculating Medicean Pope Leo X. Henry VIII did not wish to break definitely with either of the rivals; he preferred to follow Wolsey's advice, and hold out hopes of assistance to both. After receiving a visit from Charles at Sandwich (May, 1520) he met Francis at the famous 'Field of the Cloth of Gold' near Guisnes in the district of Calais (June, 1520), and immediately after (July) had a second interview with Charles at Gravelines, but in spite of these meetings and negotiations Henry was saved from any very definite engagement by Wolsey's skilful diplomacy.

Policy of Henry VIII.

Charles was assured that the English King would not, for the present at any rate, ally with his rival. Francis was persuaded that Henry was still willing to be his friend.

Meanwhile Leo X was hoping for the beginning of war that he might see from which of the parties he could gain more. After much hesitation, finding that Francis would not be likely to assist him in obtaining Ferrara for the Papal States, he finally made a treaty with Charles, who was at that very time (May, 1521) hearing the case against the reformer, Luther, at the Diet of Worms. The ban against Luther was published, and the Pope definitely joined Charles (May 25, 1521). It was agreed that Ferrara, Parma, and Piacenza should be granted to the Papal States; that the French should be driven from Milan, which was to be held by Francesco Sforza as an Imperial fief; while Charles was to protect the Medici in Florence and join the Pope in suppressing the Lutheran heresy.

Policy of Pope Leo X.

Alliance between Charles and the Pope, May, 1521.

§ 3. Already war had broken out on the northern and southern borders of France. Early in 1521, Robert de la Marck, Lord of Bouillon, and Duke Charles of Guelders,

Campaigns of 1521 and 1522. War in the

an old enemy of the Burgundian Dukes, had attacked Luxemburg, and they were supported by a French army under Alençon which advanced into the Netherlands in April. Little was accomplished, however, though both Francis and Charles took part in the campaign on the border. Netherlands and in Navarre.

At the same time the French under Bonnivet invaded Navarre on behalf of Henri d'Albret, but, in spite of a successful attack on Fuenterrabia in Guipuscoa, which was held by the French from 1521 to 1524, they were driven out of Navarre by local levies.

In Italy the war was more decisive. There the French under Lautrec were opposed by the Emperor's troops under the gallant Neapolitan noble, Pescara, and those of the Pope under the cautious Prospero Colonna. Lautrec was a good soldier but a bad general, his troops were ill-paid and ill-supplied, and on November 19, 1521, the French were driven from Milan, though they continued to hold the citadel. The other fortresses of Lombardy soon surrendered to the Imperialists. French driven from Milan, 1521.

In November, 1521, Henry VIII had been compelled to renounce his policy of mediation, and had definitely joined Charles, promising to assist by an invasion of France. Alliance between Charles and Henry VIII, Nov., 1521.

At the moment of the greatest success of the league in Lombardy, on Dec. 1, 1521, Pope Leo X died, and the new election resulted in the raising of Charles's former tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to the Papal throne.

It was expected that Adrian would support Charles, but the new Pope had no desire to follow the example of his predecessors and play a great part in Italian politics. Living a strict and holy life himself, he strove to carry out long-needed reforms in the Papal Court, but Pope Adrian VI, 1522–3.

his austerity and economy only made him unpopular, and his determination sternly to put down heresy in Christendom before reforming the Church alienated those who might otherwise have sympathized with him. Adrian longed to reconcile the two great enemies and unite them in a crusade against the Turks, but his policy was unsuccessful, and before his death in 1523 he was obliged to join Charles.

Defeat of French at La Bicocca, April, 1522.

In the meantime, the French, in endeavouring to recover Milan in the spring of 1522, had suffered a serious defeat at La Bicocca, Lautrec having been forced to attack the enemy by the insubordination of his Swiss mercenaries, who threatened to leave the army if they did not receive their pay. The result was the evacuation of Lombardy and the withdrawal of the French across the Alps (May, 1522).

On May 30 Genoa also fell, and the Doge, who favoured France, was replaced by Antonio Adorno, who acknowledged himself a vassal of the Emperor. Francesco Sforza had already been made Duke of Milan, and Ferrara, Parma, and Piacenza had been handed over to the Pope.

Treaty of Windsor, June, 1522.

§ 4. In June, 1522, Charles again visited Henry VIII in England, and by the Treaty of Windsor the two monarchs agreed each to undertake a great invasion of France in May, 1524. During 1522 English ships made raids on the Norman and Breton coasts, and in 1523 English troops invaded Picardy, but with little result. The fall of Rhodes, which was taken from the Knights of St. John by the Turks in Dec., 1522, failed to rouse Francis and Charles to a sense of the necessity for peace and a united action against the infidel. Even Pope Adrian, though suffering bitterly at the thought of the disaster, became at last convinced that mediation was hopeless, and

joined the Emperor, England, Milan, Genoa, and Venice in a defensive league against France (August, 1523). League against France, August, 1523.

The next month he died and was succeeded by Clement VII, who, as Cardinal Medici, had been the great supporter of the Spanish policy in Rome. As Pope, however, he followed the example of his kinsman, Leo X, and determined to play the part which would be most likely to benefit the Papal States and the Medicean family.

But, though Charles might not be sure of the new Pope's friendship, he had gained an important ally in France in the person of Charles of Montpensier,[1] Duke of Bourbon and Constable of France. This noble was the representative of the younger branch of the Bourbon family, and he had married Susanne, the heiress of the elder branch. Susanne was the daughter of Peter of Beaujeu, Duke of Bourbon, and Anne, the daughter of Louis XI, and it had been agreed that if Peter and Anne died without male heirs the duchy should revert to the crown. Louis XII, however, had allowed Charles of Montpensier to marry Susanne and take the title and lands of the Duke of Bourbon. Susanne died in 1521, and immediately the Queen Mother, Louise of Savoy, claimed the lands as niece of Peter of Beaujeu. Francis, who had already shown his jealousy of his subject's power, and had offended the Constable by withholding from him the command of the army sent to the Netherlands, also claimed the duchy by virtue of the treaty with Louis XI. Bourbon felt that he had little chance of success in a suit against such powerful claimants, and he began negotiations with Charles V and Henry VIII, the enemies of Francis. Charles was delighted to obtain such a powerful ally in France itself: he promised the Charles of Bourbon. Alliance of Bourbon with Charles, 1523.

[1] See Genealogical Table II.

Constable the hand of his sister Eleonora, the widowed Queen of Portugal, in marriage, and it was agreed that the invasion of France, already determined upon, should take place as soon as possible. Afterwards the land was to be divided between the allies: Charles was to have the duchy of Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy; Henry VIII claimed the old English possessions in the south and west; for Bourbon was to be revived the ancient kingdom of Arles, which should be formed of his own possessions in Central France with the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence in addition, but for this kingdom Bourbon must do homage to Henry VIII as King of France. Meanwhile Henry was to provide Charles with money, the lack of which had been so great a difficulty all through the struggle in Italy, and was now making any serious attack on Francis impossible.

Flight of Bourbon from France.

Bourbon's treachery became known, but the King hesitated to arrest so powerful a vassal, and moved with his army to Lyons, leaving the Constable on a real or feigned bed of sickness at Moulins. As soon as possible, fearing that he might be shut up in France, Bourbon fled without raising the army he had promised to bring to Charles; after many adventures he reached Franche-Comté and from there passed through the Swiss territories to join the Imperial army in Lombardy. But he found that Bourbon the refugee, brave soldier and useful recruiter though he might be, was a very different personage, in the eyes of Charles, from Bourbon the Constable, ruling over his own vast dominions in the heart of France. He was permitted to hold a command under Lannoy, the leader of Charles's army in Italy.

French in Italy, 1523-4.

§ 5. The French army had crossed the Alps in September, 1523, without Francis and under the command of the incapable Bonnivet. They soon took

possession of the west of Lombardy, but early in 1524 were once more driven out of Italy. Bayard, 'the finest flower of the French army in that age, the knight who had raised the ideal of a warrior's life to the highest point,' fell mortally wounded while attempting to cover the retreat of the French forces across the Sesia.

Battle of the Sesia, 1524.

At the same time the English had invaded Picardy and threatened Paris without much success, a German force attacking from Bresse had failed to join them in the north, and the Spaniards had been driven back from Bayonne. Now, as always throughout the struggle, experience proved that, however successful the French might be in Italy or elsewhere outside of their dominions, their enemies were equally unsuccessful when they attempted attacks on the kingdom of France. Such experience might have taught Francis what his true policy was, but he was not the monarch to learn from experience if the lesson did not coincide with his own desires. Neither did his enemies learn their lesson, for they continued to make useless attacks on France itself.

English and Spanish invasions of France, 1523.

§ 6. In 1524 another threefold invasion was planned. The English were once more to enter Picardy and the Spaniards Roussillon, but these schemes came to nothing.

Bourbon, however, with the successful Italian army, invaded Provence, and, contrary to his own judgement, which advised a march into his dominions in Central France, besieged Marseilles; this port Charles was anxious to win. The siege was unsuccessful, and on the approach of Francis from Avignon with a large army, Bourbon was obliged to retreat along the Riviera towards Genoa.

Marseilles besieged by Bourbon, July, 1524.

Francis, in opposition to the advice of all his wisest followers, pursued his enemy into Italy, going by way of

Francis in Italy, Oct., 1524.

the Durance and Mt. Genèvre. The Imperialist forces were now weak and disheartened, and their generals, who had neither money nor supplies, decided to attempt to hold only the stronger cities in Lombardy: Antonio de Leyva was left to defend Pavia, a small force was sent to garrison the citadel of Milan, and Pescara and the rest of the army entrenched themselves at Lodi, while Bourbon hurried to Germany to raise French mercenaries.

On October 29 Francis entered Milan, and might now have pursued the army under Pescara and crushed it before Bourbon could return, but, following Bonnivet's mistaken advice, he determined to besiege Pavia. There Leyva gallantly held out until Bourbon had reinforced Pescara's army. Even then the Imperialists were in great difficulty, for Charles was unable to send them money to pay their troops, and Pope Clement VII, breaking his alliance with the Emperor, was arranging to join the French. Francis was so sure of victory that he dispatched ten thousand men under the Duke of Albany to Naples and also encouraged an attack on Genoa.

Siege of Pavia, Nov., 1523–Feb., 1524.

On Jan. 24, 1525, Pescara's army, reinforced by Bourbon's German levies under Frundsberg, and now little inferior to the French except in artillery and cavalry, marched out of Lodi, and advanced upon Pavia. Francis was in a very strong position behind the walls of the park of Mirabello and could not be drawn out to battle, but the garrison within the city under Leyva were in great distress and could not hold out much longer, so that the Imperialists outside were at last obliged to attack the French position.

On February 24, 1525, a breach was made in the walls of Mirabello, and the Spaniards and Germans entered the park. A terrible struggle followed, in which the fire of

Battle of Pavia, Feb. 24, 1525.

the Spanish arquebusiers broke down the attacks of the Swiss pikemen and French men-at-arms. Ten thousand men fell in the battle; the French army was destroyed, all its great captains were killed or taken prisoners. Francis himself, after having his horse shot under him, was obliged to surrender his sword to Lannoy.

Charles had achieved the most extraordinary success, but through it all he showed the curious restraint and calmness which was ever characteristic of him. He was determined to complete the humiliation of France, but he would not allow his subjects to make public rejoicings over the victory.

Francis was a prisoner, his people were nearly ruined by the heavy taxes, the army was destroyed, and France was exposed to invasion. Charles, however, had no money to pay his troops, and the very greatness of his victory had deprived him of his former allies. Wolsey, already twice disappointed in his hope of wearing the Papal tiara, persuaded his master to make terms with the strong and capable French Regent, Louise of Savoy, and Henry VIII, realizing that he was to gain little for himself from Charles, was willing to be persuaded.

League formed against Charles, 1525.

In Italy a league was formed to drive the Spaniards from the peninsula. Francesco Sforza, Venice, the Medici, and the Pope joined the league, and invited Pescara to act with them and to receive Naples as his reward, but Pescara remained loyal to his master and betrayed to him the plans of his enemies.

Meanwhile Francis had been removed for safer keeping from Italy to Spain, and in Madrid he was kept in close confinement, so that his health suffered and his spirits drooped. He had previously declared that he would rather die in captivity than accept Charles's terms, but on January 14, 1526, after privately announcing before two

notaries his intention of not keeping his promise, he agreed to the Treaty of Madrid.

Treaty of Madrid, Jan. 14, 1526.

By this treaty Francis (1) restored the duchy of Burgundy to Charles, (2) renounced all rights to Milan, Naples, and Genoa and the suzerainty over Flanders, Artois, and Tournai, (3) agreed to give no further help to the Duke of Guelders or to the d'Albrets in Navarre, and (4) undertook to marry Eleonora of Portugal, the widowed sister of Charles, who had previously been promised to Bourbon.

In March Francis set out for France, after leaving his two little sons as hostages and promising to return to imprisonment if he could not persuade his subjects to agree to the treaty.

Second war between Francis and Charles, 1526–9.

Holy League of Cognac, May, 1526.

§ 7. In May, having been absolved from his oath by Clement VII, he joined the Pope, Venice, Florence, and Francesco Sforza in the Holy League of Cognac, which had for its objects the establishment of the independence of Italy and the release of the two French princes. Henry VIII did not join the league, but was invited to become its 'Protector'.

The position of Charles was not an enviable one. All Italy seemed united with France against him; he had not money to pay or feed his soldiers; Pescara and Colonna, two of his best generals, were dead; Bourbon and Lannoy failed to agree. The Turks were advancing through Hungary, and help from the Empire for King Lewis should have been forthcoming.

But in spite of all this, the enemies of Charles were not as strong as they appeared. Francis was compensating himself for the miseries of his imprisonment by a free indulgence in pleasure and amusement, and was unwilling to march into Italy, though quite ready to send assurances of assistance and sympathy.

The Italians were divided in policy, and the Duke of Urbino, their chief commander, showed want of decision and resource; while the leaders of Charles's army were, as in the previous campaigns, superior in every respect to their opponents.

Milan was besieged, and on July 25 Sforza yielded, and the citadel was once more in the hands of the Imperialists. The German Frundsberg was leading an army of Landsknechts, many of them Protestants, over the Alps from the Tyrol, and Lannoy was successfully resisting a Papal army in Naples; Charles also had sent 6,000 troops from Spain.

Milan taken by the Imperialists, July, 1526.

Bourbon, with the army from Milan, met Frundsberg and his levies at the Trebbia, and was at once accepted as their leader. Unfed, unpaid, the German horde pressed on; Frundsberg was struck down by paralysis near Bologna in striving to quell a mutiny; the army clamoured for plunder. Bourbon had little choice but to lead them on; he himself was probably willing to take the opportunity of bringing the Pope to terms in his own city, while the Germans longed for the spoils of Rome, the richest city in the world in works of art and beauty, and at the same time the centre and the symbol of so much that had become hateful to them.

Clement VII hurriedly made a treaty with Lannoy and endeavoured to arrange for the payment of the Imperial troops. But still the unruly mob pushed on until, on May 6, they reached the walls of Rome. Bourbon fell in the first assault, but his men were more than ever determined to succeed, and, after an hour's fighting, they entered the city, the Pope having only just time to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Sack of Rome, May 6, 1527.

The new commander, the Prince of Orange, was unable to restrain the excesses of his men. For eight days

Rome was at the mercy of a mob which, worse than the Goth or the Vandal of old, pillaged and plundered, destroying numberless works of art as beautiful and costly as any the world has seen. The period of the Renaissance was thus ended for Italy.

Clement VII a prisoner, June, 1527.

In June Clement capitulated and became the Emperor's prisoner. He promised to pay a large sum of money, to surrender Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Piacenza, and other towns, and to remain a prisoner until the first instalment had been paid.

Other enemies took advantage of his helplessness: the Venetians seized Ravenna and Cervia; the Duke of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio; the Florentines drove out his nephews and set up a republic (May, 1527).

Charles, however, showed no joy at the Pope's discomfiture; on the contrary, he ordered his court to go into mourning and the clergy to offer up prayers for the Pontiff's deliverance, and he himself wrote to the sovereigns of Europe expressing his sorrow at the terrible calamity. At the same time, he did nothing to hasten Clement's deliverance.

Even Francis was roused to action by the position of the Pope. He sent an army under Lautrec into Northern Italy and made a closer alliance with Henry VIII, who, anxious to obtain a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, was very willing to earn the gratitude of Clement.

The French in Lombardy, July, 1527.

Lautrec easily overran a great part of Lombardy, but Antonio de Leyva successfully held out in the citadel of Milan. Without persevering in this siege, Lautrec marched southwards to deliver the Pope, who, before his arrival, made terms with the Emperor, granting him money and leaving Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and Civita Castellana in his hands, as well as surrendering notable cardinals as hostages. On the evening of December 6,

the day before he was to have been released, Clement escaped to Orvieto and began to arrange negotiations for a permanent peace.

Siege of Naples, 1528.

The Imperialist army under the Prince of Orange left Rome (Feb. 1528) for Naples, whither they were followed by Lautrec, who laid siege to the city. The French were assisted from the sea by Andrea Doria, who had previously driven the Imperialist Doge from Genoa and restored French influence there.

The folly of Francis in offending this powerful sea-captain by personally slighting him and by attempting to set up Savona as a rival port to Genoa caused Doria to change sides. He ordered his ships to withdraw from before Naples (July 4), and the garrison within the city were at once able to obtain supplies from Sicily. Pestilence broke out among the besieging forces; Lautrec himself and many of his soldiers died. The remnants of the army under the Marquis of Saluzzo withdrew to Aversa (Aug. 28), where the Prince of Orange forced them to capitulate.

Capitulation of French at Aversa, 1528.

In September Andrea Doria, driving the French faction out of Genoa, set up a republic there under the protection of the Emperor, and in the next month occupied Savona.

Battle of Landriano, June, 1529.

In Lombardy the army of the league endeavoured to retrieve their fortunes, but Milan, under Leyva, resisted all their efforts, and on June 20, 1529, the young French general, St. Pol, was utterly defeated at Landriano. The league still held some cities in the duchy of Milan and on the Apulian coast, but they had little hope of withstanding Charles, especially as the Pope had made terms with him in the Treaty of Barcelona (June 29, 1529), whereby:—

Treaty of Barcelona, June, 1529.

1. The Emperor was to restore to Clement the Papal

States in their integrity, and once more to set up the Medici in Florence.

2. The Pope was to invest Charles with the kingdom of Naples and to crown him Emperor.

3. Both Pope and Emperor were to work for the suppression of heresy and for the overthrow of the Turk.[1]

Meanwhile Margaret, the aunt of Charles and Regent of the Netherlands, had been negotiating for a truce between England and the Netherlands. She was visited at Cambray by Louise of Savoy, Queen Mother of France (July 5), and these two clever women, with authority from Charles and Francis, succeeded in turning the truce into a general peace. On August 3, 1529, was signed the Peace of Cambray, 'the Ladies' Peace,' whereby Francis was freed from some of the most humiliating terms of the Treaty of Madrid.

Peace of Cambray, Aug. 1529.

It was agreed that:—

1. Charles should waive his claims to the duchy of Burgundy.

2. The French princes should be released on payment of a ransom.

3. Francis should (*a*) renounce all claims to Milan, Naples, Artois, and Flanders; (*b*) withdraw his protection from Robert de la Marck and the Duke of Guelders; and (*c*) complete the arrangements for his marriage with Eleonora of Portugal.

No terms were made for Francis's allies in Italy.

Charles was now supreme in the peninsula, which he was visiting for the first time. Naples was his, Milan was restored to Francesco Sforza as his vassal, Genoa was under his protection, the Pope was his dependent ally,

[1] Solyman was invading Hungary and, that same year, he laid siege to Vienna.

the friendship of Savoy was secured by the cession of Asti, Venice was not sufficiently powerful to resist him, and, after an eight months' siege, Florence was to be taken and the Medici restored by Spanish troops. By his alliance with Savoy Charles had 'bribed the porter of the Alps to close his gates against the French', by his protection of Genoa he had won 'a water-gate to Italy' through which he could pour his Spanish troops, and his control over Milan gave him a passage to Germany, and to the passes of the Valtelline and the Tyrol.

§ 8. On February 23, 1530, Charles was crowned at Bologna, the last Emperor to receive coronation at the hands of the Pope. In April he left Italy for Germany, where he hoped to fulfil one part of the Treaty of Barcelona and use his authority for the suppression of heresy.

Coronation of Charles at Bologna, Feb., 1530.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. *Internal History of Spain*, 1519–59.

The beginning of the reign of Charles in Spain was marked by great discontent, especially among the people of Castile, who were indignant at Charles's treatment of the great Cardinal Ximenes, and irritated by the appointment of Flemings to the chief offices in Spain. The city of Toledo rose in rebellion (April, 1520), and was soon joined by the other cities of Castile. The 'Junta', the representative assembly of these cities, demanded the exclusion of foreigners from office, the reduction of taxes, the taxing of the nobility, the resumption of alienated Crown lands, and the meeting of the Cortes at least once every three years. The Flemish Adrian was unable to quell the rebellion, and Charles appointed two Castilian nobles as co-regents. The outbreak of war between Charles and Francis led to renewed efforts on the part of the 'communeros' in 1521, but they had no good leaders, and, the nobles at last taking an active part against them, they were finally defeated at Villalar (April, 1521).

Charles still continued to allow the Cortes to meet, but the assembly was deprived of all real power. The nobles, excluded from the Cortes because they paid no taxes, ceased to have any political influence, and the Church became entirely subservient to the Crown.

The chief duty of Spain during the reign of Charles V was to provide the money to pay for his expensive wars in Italy and elsewhere.

2. *Internal History of France*, 1515–47.

The chief characteristic of the domestic history of France during the reign of Francis I is the increase of the absolute power of the Crown. The King obtained money for his foreign wars by selling offices and corrupting officers, and by raising the 'taille'. The nobles were occupied in the wars but were deprived of office, the liberties of the Church were destroyed (1516), and the Huguenots were persecuted.

SUGGESTIONS OF SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

1. Contrast the position of Francis I with that of Charles V in 1519.
2. Explain fully the consequences of the battle of Pavia.
3. How does the history of Western Europe during the years 1519-29 illustrate the application of the idea of the Balance of Power?

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CHAPTER VI

RIVALRY BETWEEN THE VALOIS AND THE HAPSBURGS. PERIOD II, 1529–59

§ 1. Charles in Germany, 1530–2. § 2. Allies of Charles and of Francis, 1532-3. § 3. Expedition of Charles against Barbarossa in Tunis, 1535. § 4. Death of Francesco Sforza.—French claims to Milan. § 5. Third war between Charles and Francis, 1536–8.—French in Piedmont.—Invasion of Provence by Charles, 1536.—Truce of Nice, 1538. § 6. Meeting of Charles and Francis at Aigues-Mortes, 1538. § 7. Second African expedition, 1541. § 8. Last war between Charles and Francis, 1542–4.—Siege of Nice.—Battle of Cerisoles, 1544.—Treaty of Crespi, 1544. § 9. Death of Francis I, 1547. § 10. War between Henry II and Charles, 1552–55.—Metz, Toul, and Verdun taken by French, 1552.—Truce of Vaucelles, 1556.—Death of Charles, 1558. § 11. Last war between France and Spain, 1556–9.—French invasion of Naples, 1557.—Battle of St. Quentin, 1557.—Calais taken by French, 1558.—Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.

Henry VIII, 1509.
Edward VI, 1547.
Mary, 1553.
Elizabeth, 1558.

France.

Francis I, 1515.
Henry II, 1547.

Spain.

Charles I, 1516.
Philip II, 1556.

The Empire.

Charles V, 1519.
Ferdinand I, 1558.

The Papacy.

Clement VII, 1523.
Paul III, 1534.
Julius III, 1550.
Paul IV, 1555.

The Ottoman Empire.

Solyman II, 1520.

Charles in Germany, 1530–2.

§ 1. The next two years, 1530–2, Charles spent in Germany. He found himself unable to carry out the work he longed to accomplish—the suppression of heresy—partly because of the dangers threatening from the Turk, who had already made himself master of the greater part of Hungary and was preparing once more to attack Vienna. At Nuremberg (July, 1532) he made a compromise with the Protestants, and immediately after, with their aid, was able to lead a large army against the infidels, who retired before him.

Allies of Charles and of Francis, 1532–3.

§ 2. At the end of the year he retired to Italy, and, having met with Clement VII at Bologna (December, 1532), and made a defensive alliance with most of the Italian States except Venice, he passed on to Spain in the spring of 1533.

In spite of the defensive league in Italy, his position was not very secure. Francis had no intention of abiding by the Peace of Cambray. He had tried to intrigue with the Schmalkaldic League of Protestant princes (p. 147) in Germany, and was at the same time negotiating with the Pope, who, wishing to bring about the marriage of his kinswoman, Catherine de' Medici (then only thirteen years of age), with Henry of Orleans, the second son of Francis, was ready to agree to assist in the recovery of Milan and Genoa for the French King.

The marriage took place in 1533, but the death of Clement VII in September, 1534, and the election of Cardinal Farnese as Pope Paul III deprived Francis of the promised aid and improved the position of Charles. The French King, however, was determined to renew the war. He had unsuccessfully endeavoured to intrigue with Francesco Sforza, and when the Duke executed his secret agent Maraviglia (1533), perhaps at the instigation of Charles, he prepared for a war against Milan. He

War on Milan declared by Francis.

formed an alliance with Henry VIII of England and James V of Scotland,[1] and also, to his lasting disgrace, opened negotiations with the enemy of Christendom, the Sultan Solyman.

Expedition of Charles against Barbarossa in Tunis, 1535.

§ 3. Meanwhile Charles was preparing for an expedition which especially appealed to his own sentiments and those of his Spanish subjects. The supremacy of Spain in the Western Mediterranean was seriously threatened by corsairs under the protection of Turkey. Khair Eddin (surnamed Barbarossa) and his elder brother, natives of Lesbos, had made themselves masters of Algiers about 1510. The elder brother was killed by the Spaniards in 1518, but the younger succeeded him in Algiers, soon added Tunis to his possessions, and, putting himself under the protection of Solyman, was in 1533 made Admiral of the Turkish fleet. Against this pirate Charles V now prepared a crusade. The greatest enthusiasm was aroused; the Spaniards were joined by Portuguese, Germans, Knights of Malta, Genoese, Venetians, and levies from other Italian States. The aim of the expedition, which was brilliantly successful, was the defeat of the Turks and the restoration of Tunis to its former ruler. The town of Goletta was taken in July, 1535, Barbarossa's army was beaten a week later, and Charles entered Tunis, the gates of the city being opened by 80,000 Christian captives, who had risen against their masters. Tunis was restored to Muley-Hassan to be held under Spanish suzerainty, while the Emperor retained Goletta, Bona, and Biserta. This expedition, successfully accomplished under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, enormously increased the reputation of Charles, who, returning to Italy with

[1] James V married (1) Magdalen, daughter of Francis I, (2) Mary of Guise.

the thousands of Christian captives whom he had set free, was now regarded as the champion of Christendom. Indirectly, too, it struck a blow at Francis, so soon to be the open ally of Solyman.

Death of Sforza, 1535. French claims to Milan.

§ 4. In November, 1535, Francesco Sforza died without heirs, and the fief fell to his overlord, Charles; but Francis, in spite of the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, at once claimed the duchy for his second son, Henry of Orleans. Charles, wishing to gain time, 'amused the French King with negotiations.' He offered Milan to Francis of Angoulême, the third son of Francis, but was unwilling to grant it to the Duke of Orleans, as being too near the throne of France and also the husband of Catherine de' Medici.

Third war between Francis and Charles, 1536–8.

§ 5. In previous campaigns in Italy France had had the advantage of the friendship of the Duke of Savoy, 'the porter of the Alps,' but at the Peace of Cambray the latter had allied himself with Charles and had married Beatrix of Portugal, the sister of the Emperor's wife, Isabella. Francis, therefore, was no longer able to get a free passage into Italy, and in March, 1536, he invaded Savoy, and, occupying Turin, soon made himself master of the whole of Savoy and Piedmont.

Savoy and Piedmont overrun by the French, 1536.

Charles was roused to action. After a most dramatic denunciation of Francis and his policy before the Pope, the cardinals, and the ambassadors at Rome, he collected an army to lead against the French. But, instead of making sure of the fortresses of Savoy, he led his forces into Provence, where he hoped to fight a decisive battle against his enemies. The French, however, led by the Duke of Montmorency, followed a policy utterly opposed to their usual one, and, instead of being drawn into an engagement, slowly withdrew, devastating the country as they went, and fortified themselves in Avignon and

Unsuccessful invasion of Provence by Charles, 1536.

Valence. The Imperial army, unable to obtain food, suffered horribly; large numbers, including the gallant old General Leyva, died, and Charles was obliged to lead his army back, 'his Tunisian laurels shrivelled by the chilling *bise*[1] of Provence.'

War continued in Italy and the Netherlands.

Charles retired to Spain, but for two more years the war dragged on in Picardy, Artois, and Piedmont, and in 1537 Solyman, true to his alliance with Francis, fought against Ferdinand in Hungary and sent Barbarossa with a fleet to attack Naples and Sicily.

In the Netherlands the people of Ghent rose in revolt against the heavy taxes they were called upon to pay, and in July, 1537, the Regent, Mary of Hungary, obtained a ten months' truce for her dominions. In June, 1538, the Pope succeeded in arranging, at Nice, a general truce for ten years. By this truce each party retained its conquests; thus, the Duke of Savoy was excluded from all his dominions except the town of Nice, France occupied Savoy and two-thirds of Piedmont, the Swiss the county of Vaud, and the Emperor the rest.

Truce of Nice, 1538.

§ 6. While the negotiations were going on Charles and Francis refused to meet, but after their completion the two monarchs caused the greatest astonishment by holding an interview at Aigues-Mortes (July, 1538) with every demonstration of good feeling. Some time after this Francis not only refused to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands offered by the people of Ghent, but also allowed the Emperor to pass through his dominions to punish the Gantois for their rebellion against the Regent.

Meeting between Francis and Charles at Aigues-Mortes, July, 1538.

During this period of friendship there were several propositions for marriages that should settle, perhaps for

[1] A piercing, cold, and dry wind prevalent on the coast of Provence, especially round Marseilles.

ever, the question of the lands of Burgundy, Navarre, and Milan. None, however, was carried out.

In October, 1540, Charles formally invested his son Philip with the duchy of Milan, which, formerly an important fief of the Empire, was finally to pass into Spanish hands. Charles, once a Fleming, never a German, was becoming more and more, in sympathy and temperament, a Spaniard.

Second expedition against Barbarossa, 1541.

§ 7. The Emperor, having once more by his temporizing policy satisfied the German Protestants, now determined upon a second expedition against Barbarossa, who had been continually attacking the coasts of Naples and was a constant danger to Christian ships in the Mediterranean. With a fine Spanish and Venetian fleet Charles set sail for Algiers in October, 1541, but his former good fortune had deserted him; a terrible storm destroyed his fleet and his camp, his half-starved men were utterly defeated by the Turks, and it was only through the calmness and courage of the Emperor that a remnant of the army was able to return to Spain.

Last war between Charles and Francis, 1542-4.

§ 8. Francis was only too ready to take advantage of Charles's misfortunes. He had for some time been preparing for a renewal of the war; the murder of his agent as he was passing through Lombardy on his way to the Porte (1541) furnished him with a reasonable excuse, and in 1542 war was again declared.

Francis found allies in the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland, the Duke of Cleves (who had occupied the territories of the late Duke Charles of Guelders and thereby earned the enmity of the Emperor), and the Sultan Solyman. French armies were sent into the Netherlands and Roussillon; Luxemburg was twice taken and twice lost; the Duke of Alva, by his defence of Perpignan, checked the invasion of Roussillon. In

1543 Charles conquered Cleves, and a combined French and Turkish fleet, supported by a French army, was unable to take Nice. The alliance of Francis with the Turk, who was gaining great successes in Hungary, won for Charles the support of the Empire in his struggle against France. In 1543, too, he had made an alliance with Henry of England, who agreed to combine with the Emperor in an invasion of France. Henry, however, acted for himself alone and wasted time by besieging Boulogne, instead of marching towards Paris. Charles arrived within a two days' march of the capital, but distrusting Henry and realizing that his presence was needed in Germany, he suddenly offered to make peace. Francis, whose only success had been in Piedmont, where the Count of Enghien had won a brilliant victory at Cerisoles (April, 1544), was very ready to come to terms. By the Treaty of Crespi (September, 1544):—

Siege of Nice by Turks and French, 1543.

Battle of Cerisoles, 1544.

Treaty of Crespi, 1544.

1. All conquests made since the Truce of Nice were restored.

2. Francis renounced all claims to Naples and to the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois.

3. Charles gave up his claim to Burgundy.

4. He also promised to marry his daughter or his niece to the Duke of Orleans, giving either the Netherlands and Franche-Comté or the duchy of Milan as her dower.

5. Francis undertook to restore Savoy and Piedmont to Duke Charles III on the completion of the compact.

6. Francis and Charles agreed to unite against the Turk and to strive to restore peace in the Church.

The war between France and England lasted till 1546, when Francis agreed to pay Henry a large sum of money within eight years, and a pension, Henry meanwhile holding Boulogne as security for the payment.

Peace between England and France, 1546.

The Duke of Orleans died in 1545, before either of the proposed marriages was completed, and thus the chance of regaining Milan for a French prince was lost, but, at the same time, Francis was saved from the necessity of surrendering Savoy and Piedmont.

Death of Francis, 1547.

§ 9. On March 31, 1547, Francis died, already a very old man at the age of fifty-three. He gained a brilliant reputation at the beginning of his reign of thirty-two years, but, apart from his encouragement of art and literature, he did little for his subjects except spend their money and their lives in futile attempts to win for himself a share in that land which, 'with its fatal gift of beauty,' had been indeed 'the cemetery of the French'.

War between Henry II and Charles, 1552–5.

§ 10. Once more, before he resigned his power to his son Philip, was Charles V to be brought into conflict with the French, and in that conflict Henry II, the son of his old enemy, was to inflict upon him an humiliation greater perhaps than any he had yet suffered. In the years that followed the death of Francis, Charles succeeded in alienating both Protestants and Catholics by his policy in Germany[1], and also in offending his brother Ferdinand by his attempt to secure the succession to the Empire for his own son Philip. In 1552 the Protestant princes under Maurice of Saxony made an alliance with Henry II at Friedwald, by which the French King was to hold, as Imperial Vicar, Cambray and 'the three bishoprics'—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—in return for his assistance on behalf of the imprisoned Landgrave of Hesse (p. 160) and in defence of the liberties of Germany.

Metz, Toul, and Verdun occupied by France, 1552.

In accordance with this treaty, Henry invaded Lorraine (March, 1552) and occupied Metz, Verdun, and Toul. The Emperor, who in May had fled from Innsbrück

[1] See ch. xi.

before Maurice of Saxony, came to terms with the Protestants in August (p. 164), and, collecting an army, appeared before Metz in October. But the Duke of Guise vigorously defended the city, the rains and snows of the winter in Lorraine proved too much for the Spanish and Italian troops in Charles's army, and he was obliged to raise the siege in December.

Unsuccessful siege of Metz by Charles, Oct. to Dec., 1552.

Meanwhile Solyman was winning fresh successes in Hungary, while in Italy the Sienese had revolted and acknowledged their allegiance to the French and a combined Turkish and French fleet were attacking Naples.

Charles was somewhat more successful in the Netherlands; and in 1555 Cosimo of Medici, Duke of Tuscany, drove the French out of Siena, which was afterwards ceded to Florence to be held as a Spanish fief.

In 1554 Charles had married his son Philip to Mary of England and had resigned to him his Italian lands, in 1555 he handed over the government of the Netherlands, and in January, 1556, the crown of Spain. In February, 1556, he agreed to the Truce of Vaucelles, which left France in possession of her conquests, and, having in August resigned the last of his dignities, the Imperial crown, he withdrew to the monastery of Yuste in Spain, where he spent two years of peace, 'occupied with the equal care of stomach and soul,' before his death in 1558.

Truce of Vaucelles, 1556.

Charles at Yuste, 1556–8.

§ 11. The Truce of Vaucelles lasted but a few months. Pope Paul IV, a violent opponent of the Spaniards, entered into an alliance with France, and together with the Guises persuaded Henry II to break the truce in June, 1556. The action of the Pope led the Duke of Alva, the Governor of Naples, to invade the Papal States (September, 1556). Alva might have taken Rome, but his own and his master's reverence for the Papal office restrained him.

Last war between France and Spain, 1556–9.

French invasion of Naples, 1557.

The Duke of Guise now invaded Naples, but, after unsuccessfully besieging Civitella, was obliged to withdraw, and very soon after the news of the battle of St. Quentin recalled him to France. Alva once more entered the Papal States and again was in a position to take Rome. This time the Pope, deserted by his French allies, was obliged to come to terms, but the excessive reverence of Philip for the Head of the Church allowed Paul practically to dictate his own terms and compelled Alva to pray for absolution for his master, who had dared to defend himself against attack. By the peace the last struggle between France and Spain in Italy was ended and the possession of Milan, Naples, and Sicily was assured to Spain.

Alliance between England and Spain, 1557.

Meanwhile war had broken out on the northern frontier of France. Philip had sent a Spanish force under Emmanuel Philibert, the dispossessed Duke of Savoy, while he himself had gone to England to persuade his wife's Council to assist him by declaring war on the French and sending a force over to Calais to co-operate with his army. In spite of difficulty, he accomplished this mission and returned to Brussels. Savoy now laid siege to St. Quentin, a very poorly fortified town, which the gallant Admiral Coligny attempted to defend in order to delay the Spaniards from marching upon Paris.

Battle of St. Quentin, Aug., 1557.

Outside the town on August 10, Savoy won a great victory over the Constable Montmorency, and but for the excessive caution of Philip, who had now arrived in the camp, he might easily have led his army into Paris. Instead of this, they delayed till St. Quentin was taken on August 27, when quarrels between the English and the Spaniards, and complaints from the German soldiers, so weakened the army that such a march was impossible. Soon after the Duke of Guise returned from

Italy, and in January, 1558, won a victory that, in the eyes of the French, more than retrieved the disaster of St. Quentin and raised Guise to the highest pinnacle of popularity.

Calais taken by the Duke of Guise, 1558.

Calais, which had been in English hands since 1347, was disgracefully neglected and very feebly garrisoned; on January 1 Guise attacked the citadel, which fell into his hands after a seven days' siege. Within a week the English were driven from their last possessions in the land of France. The war continued through the spring of 1558, but the victory of the Count of Egmont, aided by the English, at Gravelines, in July, led to negotiations for peace.

The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, April 3, 1559.

By the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (April 3, 1559):—

1. Henry restored Savoy and Piedmont to Emmanuel Philibert, retaining Saluzzo, Turin, Pignerol, and a few other places of importance.

2. Henry's possession of the 'three bishoprics' was confirmed.

3. Calais was to be left in the hands of the French for eight years.

4. All other conquests were restored.

In ratification of the treaty Philip married Henry's young daughter Elizabeth; and Margaret, Henry's sister, married the Duke of Savoy. By this treaty, which almost immediately followed the death of Charles V, the dominating figure in Europe for forty years, the long wars between France and Spain were ended and one epoch in European History was closed.[1]

[1] For the position of France and Spain at this period see Johnson's *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 258-60.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. 'The real conqueror of Italy was Charles V.' How far is this statement accurate?

2. Describe the position and policy of the Dukes of Savoy.

3. 'In the sixteenth century the good of peoples was sacrificed to the ambition of kings.' Prove the truth of this statement.

Books of Reference

As for Chapter V.

CHAPTER VII

EASTERN EUROPE

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.	*France.*	*The Empire.*
Henry VII, 1485.	Louis XI, 1461.	Maximilian I, 1493.
Henry VIII, 1509.	Charles VIII, 1483.	Charles V, 1519.
Edward VI, 1547.	Louis XII, 1498.	Ferdinand I, 1558.
Mary, 1553.	Francis I, 1515.	Maximilian II, 1564.
Elizabeth, 1558.	Henry II, 1547.	Rudolf II, 1576.
	Francis II, 1559.	
	Charles IX, 1560.	
	Henry III, 1574.	
	Henry IV, 1589.	

A. THE OTTOMAN TURKS, 1494–1600

§ 1. Reign of Bajazet II, 1481–1512.—Turbulence of Janissaries. § 2. Reign of Selim I, 1512–20.—Caliphate removed to Constantinople. § 3. Reign of Solyman the Magnificent, 1520–66.—Conquests in Mediterranean and Hungary.—Alliance with Francis I. § 4. Reign of Selim II, 1566–74. § 5. Decline of Turks.

§ 1. AT the time when our period begins, Bajazet II (1481–1512), the only one of the earlier Ottoman princes who did not possess great ability and energy, was ruler over the Turkish dominions. His brother Djem, whose rivalry he feared, was the prisoner of Pope Alexander VI, having been surrendered to him by the Knights of Rhodes.[1] Bajazet II, 1481–1512.

[1] The Knights of Rhodes were the Knights of St. John, to whom the island of Rhodes had been granted by the Eastern Emperor in 1308. This Order had been founded in Palestine at the time of the Crusades. The knights had charge of a hospital in Jerusalem for poor and sick Latin pilgrims; each knight also took an oath to become a militant defender of the Cross.

Relations between the Pope and Bajazet.

Holding this unfortunate hostage, the Pope did not scruple to negotiate with Bajazet for money to forward his own private and ambitious schemes. In 1495, however, Djem was handed over to Charles VIII, but he died almost immediately, perhaps from poison administered by the Pope's orders. Thus did the Pope play Christendom false at a time when a united Christian effort against the Turks, who had already made themselves masters of a very large portion of South-eastern Europe, was most seriously needed.

Turbulence of the Janissaries.

Bajazet's reign was on the whole one of peace. In it, just before the most brilliant period of Turkish history in Europe, we notice the beginning of a trouble that was to do much towards bringing about the decline of Turkish power in the next century. The Janissaries, that magnificent military body recruited by a forced tax of children[1] imposed on the Christian peoples conquered by the Turks, needed a stronger ruler than the mild and peaceful Bajazet; they became discontented and turbulent, and were only too ready to support the Sultan's resolute son, Selim the Grim, when he forced his father to abdicate in his favour in 1512. Bajazet died of poison within a month of his abdication, and his death was followed by those of all Selim's brothers and nephews.

Abdication and death of Bajazet, 1512.

Selim I, 1512–20.

§ 2. Having rid himself of all rivals, the new Sultan continued the forward policy of his grandfather. He conquered Mesopotamia between 1514 and 1516, Syria in 1516, and Egypt in 1517. This last conquest gave to the Turks the entire control of the Levant. By

Conquests in the East, 1514–17.

[1] Every five years or oftener the Turks took a number of children as tribute from the Christian people they had conquered; these were brought up as Mohammedans and educated for the particular form of service to which each seemed best adapted.

removing the Caliph from Egypt to Constantinople and forcing him to resign the caliphate to himself and his successors, the Sultan became the spiritual as well as the temporal head of Islam. The Sultan also Caliph.

These brilliant conquests of Selim in the East caused great alarm in Europe; it was feared that this monarch, 'returning powerful and proud,' would now turn to the West. Once more a crusade was projected, but the suggestion of the young King of France, Francis I, that the Turkish realm, when conquered, should be divided between the Empire, France, and Spain, shows that the Eastern Question, which has existed from the death of Mohammed (632) to the present day, had entered on its modern phase—a political rather than a religious one. Suggested crusade, 1518–19.

The death of Maximilian delayed the preparation for the crusade, and it was believed that Selim's death in 1520 made an immediate effort against the Turk unnecessary. The Western powers did not realize that at a time when Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V were sitting on the thrones of England, France, and Spain, another young ruler, equally brilliant and ambitious as any of them, had ascended the throne of the Sultans. Death of Selim, 1520.

§ 3. It was under Solyman the Magnificent (1520–66) that Turkey reached the height of her glory. Selim had turned his attention to the East, Solyman turned his to the West. In 1521 Belgrade, the key to Christendom, the fortress that had withstood all the attacks of the great Mohammed II, fell into the hands of his grandson Solyman, to be followed the next year by the island of Rhodes, the outpost of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean. As Pope Adrian wrote of the young Sultan after these two events, 'The passages to Hungary, Sicily, and Italy now lay open to him.' And Solyman Solyman II, 1520–66. Belgrade taken, 1520. Rhodes taken, 1521.

was not the monarch to lose such opportunities. In 1526 he defeated and slew Lewis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, at the battle of Mohacs, and gained much territory in Hungary, where Ferdinand, grandson of Maximilian, fought with John Zapolya for the vacant throne.

Victory of Solyman at Mohacs, 1526.

Meanwhile there had been no united Christian effort against this Turkish advance. Francis I, the warmest supporter of the crusade projected in 1518, had even made advances to Solyman for help in the time of his distress after the battle of Pavia in 1525, and in his later struggles with Charles V he definitely allied with the Sultan, who several times assisted him by drawing the attention of Charles to the eastern part of his empire and by attacking the coasts of Italy.

No united Christian opposition.

The opponents of the Pope in the Reformation struggles were unwilling to take action against the Turks, and Luther himself spoke of their advance as a 'visitation from God'.

The feeling changed somewhat, however, when Solyman with a very large army marched northwards in 1529, and taking Buda on the way, laid siege to Vienna on September 20. The attempt failed, and Solyman was obliged to retire from the city in October, but he had gained control over the greater part of Hungary. A renewed attempt was made to reach Vienna in 1532, and again Solyman was forced to retire.

Siege of Vienna, 1529.

Control over Hungary obtained.

But still the Turkish conquests were continued. In 1540 the last fortresses in the Morea were taken from the Venetians, and all Greece became subject to the Turks.

The Ottomans were advancing westward by sea as well as by land, and the Moslem admirals, Barbarossa and Dragut, with their robber fleets, were doing much to extend Turkish power in the Mediterranean along the northern shores of Africa.

Turkish power in the Mediterranean.

Both Charles and Francis negotiated to obtain the alliance of Barbarossa, and in 1543 that admiral joined with the French in laying siege to Nice.

The end of Solyman's reign was not as successful as the beginning; in 1565 an attack on the Knights of Malta failed, and in the next year the Sultan died while besieging the Hungarian town of Szigeth.

§ 4. Solyman was the last of the great Ottoman rulers; the later ones became more and more degenerate and the government was left in the hands of viziers. Solyman's successor, Selim the Sot, was fortunate in his Grand Vizier, Sokolli, who maintained the Turkish reputation for success. In 1571 the last Venetian fortress in Cyprus was taken, and Western Christendom was roused by the disaster to something like a united effort.

Selim the Sot, 1566–74.

Cyprus taken by Turks, 1571.

Spain and the Pope joined Venice in an attack on the Turks, whom Don John of Austria defeated in the great naval battle of Lepanto in 1571. The victory was useless, and Venice was obliged to make an humiliating treaty surrendering Cyprus in 1573.

Christian victory at Lepanto, 1571.

§ 5. From that time a rapid decline in the Turkish power began. The Sultans became selfish, sensual, and idle, and female influence began to play an undesirable part in state policy. Corruption spread into every department; military discipline was relaxed; and the Janissaries—being allowed to marry and to admit their sons into the ranks—increased rapidly in numbers, in turbulence, and in insubordination.

Decline of Turks.

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B. The Consolidation of Russia, 1462–1605

§ 1. Rise of Muscovite princes during period of Tartar domination. § 2. Reign of Ivan the Great, 1462–1505.—Overthrow of the Tartars.—Consolidation of Russian State. § 3. Reign of Ivan the Terrible, 1533–84.—Conquests of Kasan and Astrakhan. § 4. Period of anarchy, 1584–1613. Accession of Romanoff Tsar, 1613.

Rise of Muscovite princes.

§ 1. The latter half of the fifteenth century marks the establishment of the Muscovite princes as the rulers of Russia. From the foundation of the monarchy by the Scandinavian Ruric and his followers in the ninth century till the conquest of the land by the Tartars in the thirteenth, Kieff and Novgorod had been the chief towns of Russia, but, during the period of Tartar domination, the princes of Moscow, by skilfully gaining and using the support of their masters, gradually overcame their rivals and gathered into their own hands all the Russian territories.

Ivan III, 1462–1505.

§ 2. Ivan III, Great Prince of Moscow (1462–1505), completed the work of his predecessors by throwing off the Tartar yoke. He followed the usual Muscovite policy of treachery and fraud, and, by fomenting the divisions among his enemies and finally allying himself with the Tartars of the Crimea, he succeeded, in 1487, in overcoming the rulers of Russia, the Tartars of the Kasan. For the time being he contented himself with putting a nephew of the Khan of the Crimea on the throne of Kasan, leaving to his successors the actual annexation of that state; he had, nevertheless, finally freed Russia from Tartar domination.

Unification of the State.

Ivan the Great also did much for the consolidation of the monarchy by winning back lands that had been granted as appanages to younger members of the reigning family and by crushing the independence of the

great municipalities. But, at the same time, in suppressing the republics (especially that of Novgorod, a factory of the Hanseatic League), he destroyed the foreign trade of Russia, and put an end to the growth of the spirit of democratic freedom, which might have done so much to improve the social conditions of the Russians.

Intercourse with other European States.

Ivan III was the first of the Muscovite princes to enter into negotiations with the Emperor and other European monarchs. He married Zoe (her name was changed to Sophia at her marriage), the niece of the last eastern Roman Emperor, who had perished at Constantinople in 1453. It was this marriage that brought Russia into connexion with the Renaissance movement. Learned Greeks, bearing precious manuscripts, came in the train of the princess. Italians were invited to Ivan's court, and an Italian architect built the palace of the Kremlin. But Russia was centuries behind the rest of Europe in civilization, and 'these and other fine swallows of the Renaissance did not make a spring; their fine intelligences produced no lasting, nor perhaps any fleeting impression on the Russian spirit; but they belong to the signs which mark the beginning of a new period of slow, hardly perceptible advance, which is to prepare the way for Peter the Great'.

Ivan the Terrible, 1533–84.

§ 3. Ivan's son, Vasili (1505–33), continued the work of his father and captured Smolensk from Lithuania, but it was the reign of his grandson, Ivan the Terrible (1533–84), that had most significance for Russia. This monarch was possessed of marked ability and originality, but was utterly unscrupulous and peculiarly cruel. During his reign he destroyed the influence of the great nobles (boyars) and created a new class of political servants entirely dependent on himself, thus increasing the autocratic power of the Crown, but throwing into utter

confusion the social and economic condition of his land. Ivan was the first monarch to use regularly the title of Tsar (a Slavonic form of Caesar), which had been occasionally adopted by his grandfather.

Conquests of Kasan (1552) and Astrakhan (1554).

He extended the dominions of his empire by annexing the Khanates of Kasan (1552) and of Astrakhan (1554), thus gaining control of the whole course of the Volga and obtaining an outlet to the Caspian Sea. But Ivan realized that the greatest need of his empire was to possess some portion of the Baltic coast, and he set himself to acquire the lands of Livonia, then held by the Knights of the Sword. For a short time (1557–60) he was successful, but the transference of these lands to Poland by the Grand Master of the Order in 1561 was followed by a long war between Poland, Sweden, and Russia (the three rivals for the supremacy of the Baltic), and resulted in the Russians being driven back from the sea once more. It was in this reign that Richard Chancellor, the Englishman, in the attempt to find a north-east passage to India, succeeded in reaching the White Sea, and, landing at Archangel, returned home by Moscow.

Struggle for Livonia.

Period of anarchy, 1584–1613.

§ 4. The death of Ivan (1584) delivered Russia from a nightmare of tyranny, but opened a period of unrest and civil strife which lasted for thirty years. Ivan's son Feodor was the last male descendant of the House of Ruric, and after his death (1598) many pretenders arose to claim the throne. Sweden and Poland fought out their own quarrels in Russia by helping rival parties, until it seemed probable that the monarchy of Russia would be subjected to one of these two states. But the disorders led to the rise of a patriotic party, who set aside all other claimants and in 1613 elected as their new Tsar Michael Romanoff, the founder of the dynasty still ruling in Russia.

Accession of a Romanoff Tsar.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Describe the relations of Turkey with the Empire and with France during the reign of Solyman the Magnificent.
2. Estimate the importance of the work of Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible in Russia.

Books of Reference

*_Cambridge Modern History_, vols. i and iv.
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Book III

THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER VIII

THE PAPACY IN THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

§ 1. Authority of the Popes in Western Christendom. § 2. Temporal dominion of the Popes. § 3. Nicholas V. § 4. Pius II. § 5. Paul II. § 6. Sixtus IV. § 7. Innocent VIII. § 8. Alexander VI. § 9. Julius II. § 10. Leo X. § 11. Adrian VI. § 12. Clement VII. § 13. Paul III.—Beginning of the Counter-Reformation.—Conclusion.

List of Renaissance Popes

Nicholas V, 1447.	Innocent VIII, 1484.	Adrian VI, 1522.
Calixtus III, 1455.	Alexander VI, 1492.	Clement VII, 1523.
Pius II, 1458.	Pius III, 1503.	Paul III, 1534–49.
Paul II, 1464.	Julius II, 1503.	
Sixtus IV, 1471.	Leo X, 1513.	

Authority of the Popes in Western Christendom.

§ 1. ALTHOUGH the Papacy had lost much of its spiritual influence during its struggle with the Emperors and in the succeeding periods of the Babylonish Captivity and the Great Schism (p. 6), there were still many ways in which the authority of the Popes was felt in the countries of Western Christendom.

Papal exactions.

They retained the right of excommunicating sovereigns, of confirming the appointment of bishops, and of occasionally reserving such appointments for themselves. They also drew large revenues from the Christian Church: tithes (i. e. the tenth part of ecclesiastical incomes) were almost continually exacted, and from the

early fourteenth century *annates* (the first year's revenue from a benefice) were regularly demanded. The incomes of vacant bishoprics passed to the Popes, and they also gained vast sums from fines imposed for spiritual offences, fees exacted for dispensations, and payments made for legal cases brought to the Roman Court. The Papal claims were very unpopular, and in the different countries various statutes were passed to prevent the Popes from enjoying the rights of patronage and from interfering between the temporal sovereigns and their subjects. The Papal taxes were often so difficult to collect that the Popes were forced into making bargains and sharing their profits with the secular princes, on condition that the latter facilitated the collection.

In spite of all opposition, the Popes still maintained a very real though indefinable power over the members of the Christian Church, because they were supposed to be the representatives of God upon earth, and, as such, to have control over the eternal welfare of men and women. Many pious people regretted the evils of Papal policy, but they saw no remedy 'unless the Almighty changed the heart of the Holy Father'.

In the early fifteenth century various attempts were made to reform the Papacy and the Church by means of General Councils, but none of these were successful.

As the Pontiffs thus lost their spiritual influence, they clung more and more to their temporal power and endeavoured to make that a reality. To play the part of great princes they needed increased wealth. Consequently they sold official posts to the highest bidder, some of the Popes multiplying the number of such offices to an incredible extent solely for the purpose of obtaining the profits from the sales. They also added to their revenues by a reckless sale of pardons and

indulgences,[1] sending round salesmen who had no compunction in lying or cheating in order to gain a higher price.

Temporal dominion of Popes.

§ 2. The Popes of this period were secular princes, the only difference between them and their contemporaries being that their lofty spiritual position put them above all the ordinary obligations of morality and honour. They were overlords, in name at any rate, of the many rulers and landowners in the confused jumble of States known as the States of the Church. In Rome, where the government was nominally republican, they had no sovereign rights, but their position as heads of Christendom gave them great influence in the city, and it would have been no very difficult task for a strong Pope to make himself sovereign of Rome and overthrow the shadow of republican government. The place was often in a state of turmoil and disorder owing to the rivalries of the Colonna and the Orsini[2] and their followers. The Renaissance Popes were determined to consolidate their power, both in the Papal States and in the city of Rome, and to rule as great temporal princes in the centre of Italy.

Nicholas V, 1447–55.

§ 3. During the pontificate of Nicholas V a plot against the Pope was formed by those who wished to revive the glories of the republic. The plot was discovered and Porcari, the leader, and his associates were executed (1453). In punishing attempted rebellion with death the

[1] Indulgences were papal letters granting to the recipient some share in the benefits derived from the treasury of accumulated good works and remitting penances due for his sins. The treasury whose benefits the Pope had the right of dispensing was supplied by those men and women who during their lives performed more holy actions than were actually necessary for their own salvation.

[2] The Colonna and the Orsini were two of the chief families of Rome and the leaders of rival factions. They obtained great power during the disorders of the fourteenth century.

Pope had become a monarch. Nicholas was a munificent patron of learning and art, and some of the most famous among the scholars of the Renaissance were to be found at his Court. His fine collection of manuscripts formed the beginning of the great Vatican Library. Patronage of art and learning.

This Pope also spent enormous sums on the adornment of the city. A new Vatican was begun, the foundations were laid for a new Church of St. Peter, and the Castle of S. Angelo, the Papal fortress, was strengthened. Nicholas himself felt that this beautifying of Rome was the greatest work he could do for the Papal See. In his will, in summing up the benefits he had conferred on the Papacy, he said, 'I have repaired and fortified the walls of Rome; I have restored the Basilicas founded by Gregory the Great; I have made this palace of the Vatican and the Church of St. Peter fit for the use and dignity of the Holy See.' Nicholas was not a wicked Pope, he was merely a great prince acting in the same manner as the other great princes of his day—asserting his sovereign power, and royally patronizing the New Learning. Adornment of Rome.

§ 4. Pius II, better known by his name of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, had been pleasure-loving, careless, and worldly in his youth—a scholar, writer, and courtier. As Pope, he devoted himself to the effort of stirring up the Christian world to make a crusade against the Turk. That his attempt was a failure was not due to any want of enthusiasm or whole-heartedness on his own part. Pius II, 1458–64.

§ 5. Pius II was succeeded by Paul II, a worldly man who cared for nothing so much as for pomp and glory. He employed and patronized artists because they were of use to him in the adornment of his surroundings, but he had no sympathy with the New Learning. He was so much afraid that the Humanists of the Roman Paul II, 1464–71.

Academy[1] might be plotting against his authority that he had the chief members arrested and tortured. Some died under the torture; the others were tried for heresy and could not be found guilty, but the Pope would not release them for fear it should be said that the Holy Father had arrested them without due cause. In order to prevent this he left them to perish in the dungeons of S. Angelo.

A modern Roman Catholic historian of the Papacy says: 'The corruption begins with Paul II; it increases under Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, and comes to a head in the desecration of the Chair of St. Peter by the immoral life of Alexander VI.'[2] A great many of the crimes of which these Popes are accused are too horrible even to mention.

Sixtus IV, 1471–84. His nepotism.

§ 6. Sixtus IV used all his efforts to advance his nephews. For the sake of obtaining a principality for his favourite, Girolamo Riario, he involved Italy in wars which left her more divided than ever. It is more than probable that Sixtus was implicated in the conspiracy of the Pazzi to murder Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici before the high altar at Florence during the celebration of the Mass. The plot was not entirely successful, because one of the hired assassins could not overcome his scruples sufficiently to commit murder in that place, and a priest, who was persuaded to do it because 'being more accustomed to the place he was less superstitious about its sanctity', was not equally skilled in the art of assassination. Giuliano perished, but Lorenzo was only slightly wounded.

[1] The Roman Academy was a society of scholars formed for the purpose of studying Latin antiquities, and of promoting the adoption of antique customs into modern life.

[2] Pastor, *History of the Popes.*

It was Sixtus IV who authorized the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain for the purpose of exterminating Jews, Moors, and heretics.

§ 7. Innocent VIII was elected by the cardinals on account of his colourless character. He is thus described by Vespucci: 'He has little experience in affairs of State, and little learning, but is not wholly ignorant.' Innocent VIII, 1484–92.

§ 8. The pontificate of Alexander VI (Roderigo Borgia) marks the lowest degradation of the Papacy. Being richer than any of the other cardinals, he succeeded in buying his election to the Chair of St. Peter. Alexander was magnificent and dignified in appearance, a man of great ability and energy, and of still greater craft. He was determined to consolidate the temporal power of the Papacy and use it for the advancement of his own family. To accomplish his aims he did not hesitate to employ the basest means—negotiations with the Sultan Bajazet (pp. 97–8), treachery, fraud, murder. The Venetian ambassador wrote: 'Every night they find in Rome four or five murdered men, bishops and prelates, &c.' When Charles VIII entered the city in 1494, many hoped that he would call a General Council that would depose the Pope, but Alexander succeeded in making terms with the French King (1495), and Charles said no more about a Council. Later in the year, however, Alexander joined the League of Venice against France, and began his attack on Savonarola because Florence refused to desert the French alliance. Alexander VI, 1492–1503. His plans for the advancement of the Borgia family.

At first the Pope worked for his eldest and favourite son, the Duke of Gandia, but when, in 1492, this young man was secretly assassinated (perhaps at the instigation of his brother Caesar), the Pope, releasing Caesar from his ecclesiastical obligations[1] 'for the good of his soul', Caesar Borgia.

[1] Caesar Borgia was then a cardinal.

used all his efforts to form for him a great principality. Caesar was a man of enormous power, but without conscience—Machiavelli's ideal of a successful statesman.

His father forsook the League of Venice and made an alliance with Louis XII in 1499, and Caesar took advantage of the French invasion to conquer the Romagna. Town after town was taken (1499–1501), and dangerous or opposing nobles were murdered.[1] In order that Caesar might be undisturbed in his efforts in the Romagna[2] and Tuscany, Alexander gave his blessing to the disgraceful Treaty of Granada (1500), whereby Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon divided the kingdom of Naples between them. To the great relief of the Pope the two Kings quarrelled over their booty. 'If the Lord,' said Alexander to the Venetian ambassador, 'had not put discord between France and Spain, where should we be?'

In August, 1503, Alexander and Caesar were suddenly and mysteriously attacked by illness. To the great joy of all Romans the Pope died, while Caesar was incapacitated at the very time when his activity was most necessary if the sovereignty of the Romagna was to be ensured to the Borgia family.

Julius II, 1503–13.

§ 9. The cardinals elected Giuliano della Rovere, one of the nephews of Sixtus IV, who became Pope as Julius II. The new Pope was determined to continue the policy of Alexander, but his desire was to strengthen

[1] The murder of the Orsini at Sinigaglia is characteristic of Caesar's methods. He employed these princes in the conquest of the Romagna, but afterwards, fearing they were likely to become dangerous to him, he enticed them to the castle where he was staying and there had them strangled.

[2] The chief states in the Romagna at this time were: Ferrara, Imola and Forli, Rimini, Faenza, Urbino, Pesaro, Sinigaglia. (See Johnson, p. 50, note.)

the temporal dominion of the Papacy, not for the sake of his family, but for the benefit of the Papal See itself.

For this purpose he employed Caesar Borgia, but, finding that the latter was still working for his own aggrandizement, Julius imprisoned him and took possession of his conquests. Caesar afterwards fled to Naples, only to be sent as a prisoner to Spain (1504). Escaping in 1506, he took refuge in Navarre, and there died in 1507.

His reign the Golden Age of the Renaissance in Rome.

Julius II was a great man; 'he stamped the century with the impress of a powerful personality;' but he was a warrior rather than a priest, and cared more for the temporal dominion of the Papacy than for its spiritual character. He is essentially the Pope of the Renaissance. 'He sympathized with all that was great. He was more than a mere patron of art: he provided great artists with great opportunities': he employed Bramante to begin the new St. Peter's which had been planned by Nicholas V, he ordered Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and was a friend and patron to Raphael.

Julius II and the French.

Julius has been called 'the saviour of the Papacy' and 'the curse of Italy', and both these descriptions are true. He saved the Papacy by completing the work of the Borgias, but he did it at the expense of Italy. When he wished to recover Ravenna, Rimini, and Faenza from Venice he joined Louis XII, Ferdinand, and Maximilian in the League of Cambray (1508). Thus the Pope who, as Cardinal della Rovere, had urged Charles VIII to enter Italy in 1494, once more welcomed the foreigner. Having gained his object, he deserted his allies, made peace with the republic (1510), and formed the Holy League with Venice and Ferdinand (1511) in order to drive his former friends out of the peninsula. The

league was victorious at Ravenna, the French recrossed the Alps in 1512, and Julius died in February, 1513. He had greatly increased his reputation by his endeavour to free Italy from the foreigner, but he had been obliged to call in the help of the Spanish against the French, and had rid the land of one enemy only to lay it open to another.

Leo X, 1513–21.

§ 10. In September, 1512, the Medici had been restored to Florence, and from their family the successor to Julius was chosen. Giovanni de' Medici was a son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Created a cardinal at the age of thirteen, he became Pope Leo X at thirty-eight. The new Pope was very different from his predecessor. His words to his brother at his accession, 'God has given us the Papacy; let us enjoy it,' illustrate the spirit in which Leo entered upon his high office.

His reign has been called the Golden Age of the Renaissance, but that name ought rather to be applied to the time of Julius II. Leo loved pleasure and magnificence, he patronized artists and men of culture, but he had not sufficient depth of character to understand the greatest works, or realize the nobler aspects, of the Renaissance. He was something of a pagan philosopher to whom 'good Latinity seemed of more importance than true doctrine'. He had no conception of the force of the great movement that was beginning in Germany, but he issued a Bull against Luther in 1520, and was pleased when, at the Diet of Worms (1521), Charles V published the ban against the heretic monk.

After much vacillation Leo joined Charles V in his war against Francis I, and, the Papal and Imperial troops being successful in Lombardy, Parma and Piacenza were restored to the Papacy in 1521. Before the end of the year, however, Leo died suddenly.

§ 11. He was succeeded by a Fleming, Adrian of Utrecht, the former tutor of Charles, an upright and austere man, who was horrified at the pagan tendencies of the Renaissance in Italy and at the licentiousness of Rome. He lived a very simple life, and he would have preferred a small villa and garden to the glories of the Vatican, where he complained that he felt more like Constantine than Peter. Adrian's great aims were to make peace between Charles and Francis and persuade the two monarchs to unite their energies in a crusade against the Turks, to bring about a reformation of the Papal Court and the Church, and to deal with the Lutheran movement in Germany. He was unable to attain any of these objects; his efforts to reform the Curia made him exceedingly unpopular, and he did not live long enough even to attempt a reformation of the Church. Charles and Francis were unwilling to come to terms, and a little before his death (1523) Adrian, at last convinced of the hopelessness of peace, made an alliance with Charles. Adrian VI, 1521–3.

§ 12. Rome rejoiced at the death of this good and stern but somewhat narrow-minded Pope, and was delighted at the election of another member of the Medici family—Clement VII. Those, however, who hoped for a return of the merry days of Leo X were disappointed, as were all people who looked forward to the pontificate of Clement VII. The new Pope cared most of all for the interests of his own house, and was willing to sacrifice Italy and the Church for the Medici. Clement VII, 1523–34.

His policy towards Charles and Francis was weak and undecided. In January, 1525, he concluded an alliance with the latter, but, when the Emperor became master of Italy after the battle of Pavia, Clement made peace with him, only to form a new league with Francis

in the following year. The result of this Holy League of Cognac was the ruin of Rome. In May, 1527, the Germans sacked the city (pp. 79–80) and Clement was besieged in the Castle of S. Angelo. A month later the Pope gave himself up to the Emperor, and it seemed possible that Charles might destroy the temporal dominion of the Papacy and call a General Council to discuss the reformation of the Church.

Charles, however, did not call a Council, and he and Clement finally came to terms in the Treaty of Barcelona, 1529. Clement agreed to invest Charles with the kingdom of Naples and crown him Emperor, in return for his promise that the places taken from the Papal States should be restored and the authority of the Medici again set up in Florence.[1]

During the same year the breach between Henry VIII and the Pope was begun by the latter's recalling Cardinal Campeggio and citing Henry's divorce case to Rome.

Charles was crowned Emperor at Bologna in February, 1530. In August Florence fell after an eight months' siege, the republican constitution was annulled, and Alessandro de' Medici was proclaimed Duke. Clement VII died in 1534, about a year after the celebration of the marriage of his niece Catherine with Henry of Orleans, second son of the French King.

Paul III, 534–49.

§ 13. The reign of the next Pope, Paul III, is a period of transition. The English Church had already thrown off the supremacy of the Pope, and the Religious Conference at Ratisbon in Germany (1541) proved the impossibility of any permanent compromise between the doctrines of the Church and those of the reformers.

Beginning of the

The foundation of the Society of Jesus (1540), the

[1] The Medici had been driven from Florence and a republic re-established in May, 1527.

reorganization of the Inquisition (1542), and the meeting of the Council of Trent (1545) mark the beginning of what is known as the Counter-Reformation, when the Church adopted the policy of vigorous opposition to Protestantism. Counter Reformation.

The earlier Renaissance Popes—Nicholas V and Pius II—had endeavoured to increase the influence of the Papacy by raising its intellectual status and making the Roman Court a centre of light and culture; the Borgias and Julius II had strengthened its temporal dominions; both these policies lacked that spiritual character which, causing the Church to see first to its own correction, alone could have saved it from schism.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Describe the attitude of the Church towards the New Learning.[1]

2. Discuss the effect of Julius II's policy upon (1) the Papacy and (2) Italy.

3. 'The unreformed Papacy of the closing decades of the fifteenth and of the first quarter of the sixteenth century was the open sore of Europe.' How far was this recognized by the people of that time, and how far is it true?

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[1] See also ch. x and xi.

CHAPTER IX

REFORMERS BEFORE THE REFORMATION

§ 1. Reform movements in the Middle Ages. § 2. Reform of morals and discipline.—Savonarola, 1452-98. § 3. Appeals to the authority of the Scriptures.—(*a*) The Waldensians.—(*b*) John Wiclif and Lollardism.—(*c*) The Hussite movement. § 4. Non-ecclesiastical religion in Germany. § 5. The Renaissance in Teutonic lands.—(*a*) John Reuchlin, 1455-1522.—(*b*) Ulrich von Hutten, 1488-1523.—(*c*) The Oxford Reformers.—John Colet, 1466-1519.—(*d*) Erasmus, 1467-1536.

Reform movements in the Middle Ages.

§ 1. THE Reformation of the sixteenth century was preceded during the Middle Ages by many attempts at reform. Some of these had for their object the improvement of the morals and discipline of the clergy, while others appealed from the theological dogmas of the Schoolmen[1] to the authority of the Bible and the early Christian Fathers. Yet all of these attempts were ineffectual, and, in spite of the general feeling against clerical abuses, the evils increased. Although it brought forward few, if any, new ideas, the sixteenth-century Reformation succeeded where others had failed; its success was due to the fact that it was only one part of a greater movement which was then revivifying the mental life of Europe. 'There' was fresh oxygen now in the intellectual air, and the fire of reformation, once lighted, no longer burned fitfully and feebly, but with steady and consuming flame. The seed-bed of the human mind had been ploughed and harrowed and

[1] Mediaeval theologians.

nourished, so that whatever living germ was committed to it could not but grow and flourish.'[1]

§ 2. The various monastic revivals and the foundation of the mendicant orders were efforts to restore purity and zeal to the Church. In the fifteenth century attempts were made to remove abuses by means of General Councils (Pisa, Constance, Basle), but the influence of the Popes, used always in opposition to the Councils, made these efforts ineffectual. All Christendom was horrified at the evils in the Church, but there was no motive power sufficiently strong to bring about a reform. Reform of morals and discipline.

As has already been seen, the immediate effect of the Revival of Learning in Italy tended rather to scepticism and paganism than to reformation. Yet it was in Italy, at the very height of the Renaissance, in the city where it reached its greatest glory, that the last great attempt at reform after the mediaeval fashion was made. Girolamo Savonarola was born at Ferrara in 1452. His father was the son of a Paduan physician of noble family, and his mother a Mantuan. Girolamo was himself intended for the medical profession, but from the first the boy was serious and solitary, and he soon showed a strong disinclination for Court life. He was deeply impressed with the wickedness of the world, and spent a great deal of his time in study and prayer. At last, in 1475, knowing that his action would grieve his parents, he left his home secretly and joined the order of St. Dominic at Bologna. After several years' residence in the monastery he was sent on missions to Ferrara, Florence, and other places, but at first his preaching was not successful. His appearance was unprepossessing, his voice thin rather than full, Savonarola, 1452–98.

[1] Beard, *Hibbert Lectures on the Reformation*, p. 34.

his manner severe, and his matter uninteresting. It was not until 1486 that his fiery eloquence was kindled and he became an orator and a prophet. So great then was his reputation in Northern Italy that Lorenzo de' Medici, glad to add to the glory of his capital, invited him to return to Florence (1490). The friar's sermons, first in San Marco and afterwards in the Duomo, attracted vast congregations, who were carried away by the eloquence and earnestness of the preacher. Savonarola wished for no reform in the doctrines of the Church, but he burned with the desire to purify his land from the wickedness he saw everywhere around him. In language similar to that of Malachi and Jeremiah he described the miseries that would come upon Italy as a judgement for her sins, and his descriptions sounded afterwards like definite prophecies of the horrors which the peninsula suffered during the period of foreign wars. Fearlessly he denounced the sins of Popes, bishops, and princes. As Prior of San Marco he reformed all the Dominican houses in Tuscany. His preaching had a marked effect on the morals of the Florentines, and his unbending attitude towards Lorenzo de' Medici caused him to become the leader of all those who earnestly desired the restoration of liberty and freedom.

His political and moral reforms.

Unfortunately the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494 drew Savonarola into politics. He recognized in this foreign army the scourge of God whose coming he had prophesied. After the expulsion of Piero de' Medici (p. 56) a republic was established under Savonarola's influence, though he declined to accept a definite office, insisting only that Christ should be recognized as the head of the State. The frivolous pleasures that had been enjoyed under the Medici were

stopped, laws were remodelled, and morality was enforced. The preacher seems now to have been carried away by his own enthusiasm and to have become fanatical and extravagant. He did not despise art and literature, but his soul loathed the effect produced on his countrymen by the worship of beauty and freedom. Religious processions took the place of secular ones; at the time of Carnival people were called upon to bring their vanities—jewels, fine attire, false hair, scent, looking-glasses, immoral books and pictures—to throw on the great bonfire kindled in the public square.

Reaction against the friar.

Extravagance of this sort naturally caused a great reaction; the number of the Prior's opponents increased, no distinction was made between those who disliked his political and those who were opposed to his moral reforms. Pope Alexander VI, being unsuccessful in his efforts to lure Savonarola to Rome, tried unsuccessfully to corrupt him and afterwards suspended him from preaching (1495). For a time the friar's voice was silent, but during the Lent of 1496 he delivered one of his boldest courses of sermons, in which, in terrible language, he once more denounced the sins of his contemporaries. In 1497 Alexander took advantage of the reaction in Florence against Savonarola and excommunicated him. For six months the Prior ceased to preach, but on Christmas Day he celebrated Mass in San Marco, and in February he preached once more. The excitement in the city became more intense and the rivalry between the parties greater. The Pope threatened Florence with an interdict if the preacher were not silenced, and at last in March, 1498, the Signory[1] suspended him.

Savonarola excommunicated, 1497.

[1] The supreme executive council at Florence, consisting of a Gonfalonier of Justice and eight Priors elected for two months.

Savonarola now wrote letters to the sovereigns of Europe calling upon them to summon a General Council. His opponents became more eager and more active; the suggestion was made that the ordeal by fire should be the test of his inspiration and his prophetic powers. A Franciscan monk offered to pass through the flames if Savonarola would do the same. The Prior was opposed to this tempting of God, but his enemies and his friends were eager for the ordeal. Fra Domenico became the Dominican champion, and all preparations were made for the event.

The ordeal by fire, April 7, 1498.

On April 7, 1498, crowds of people waited for hours to witness the miracle or its failure. Delay was caused by many objections made by the Franciscans. Finally they demanded that Fra Domenico should not carry the Host in his hand as he passed through the fire. To this Savonarola refused to agree. Rain fell, and the ordeal was abandoned. The next day the disappointed mob attacked San Marco. The Prior and his two chief supporters, Fra Domenico and Fra Silvestro, were arrested. At the Pope's command, Savonarola was tortured that he might be made to confess his errors. He may have cried out in his agony that he was no true prophet; probably also his confessions were exaggerated. Finally, he and his two followers, declared heretics and schismatics by the Pope's commissioners, were found guilty of treason to the state and condemned to execution. On May 23, 1498, they were hanged on the Piazza, and a fire was lighted beneath them to burn their dead bodies. 'From the Church militant and triumphant I separate thee,' said the Bishop of Vasona as he unfrocked Savonarola at his execution. 'From the Church militant, yes; from the Church triumphant, no,' firmly answered the Prior; 'that is not yours to do.'

Imprisonment and torture, April–May, 1498.

Execution of Savonarola, May 23, 1498.

Savonarola had tried to purify his countrymen by rousing them to a sense of the consequences of their sins, but his effort had failed. The sacrifice of this friar gave a final proof of the hopelessness of looking to Rome for the purification of the Church.

Appeals to the authority of Scripture.

§ 3. Of the people who in the Middle Ages appealed to the authority of the Scriptures themselves, the Waldensians[1] were the earliest. In the twelfth century they were formally condemned as heretics and were thus separated from the Church, but they continued to study the Scriptures, which had been translated into their own tongue. They accepted only two sacraments—Baptism and the Eucharist—and rejected purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints. They lived pure and simple lives, and remained faithful to their opinions in spite of persecution, but they wrought no reformation in the Church at large.

(a) The Waldensians.

(b) John Wiclif and Lollardism (1324?–84).

The principles and teaching of John Wiclif, the Oxford teacher, were very similar to those of the Waldensians. Wiclif translated the Bible into English and expounded its natural sense to the people; he opposed the worldliness and luxury of the clergy and the many abuses in the Church. He also attacked the authority of the Pope and the doctrine of transubstantiation. Wiclif gathered round him a large number of followers, to whom the name of Lollards was given, but the connexion of his religious movement with Wat Tyler's rebellion, and the persecution of his followers to which the Lancastrian kings were led by political considerations, caused the effort for reform to die out. A large number of individuals, however, continued to uphold the Lollard

[1] The Waldensians consisted of two sets of people: the Vaudois of the Alpine valleys between Dauphiné and Piedmont, and the 'Poor Men of Lyons', followers of a certain Peter Waldo. These latter settled in various places.

principles; persecution only caused them to increase in energy and persistence, and their influence was distinctly felt when the sixteenth-century Reformation began to work in England.

(c) The Hussite movement.

It was to Wiclif's teaching that the Hussite movement in Bohemia was due. The marriage of Anne of Bohemia to the English King Richard II brought the two Courts into communication. Jerome of Prague carried Wiclif's writings from Oxford to his own country, where they had a profound influence on John Huss, who became the leader of a national religious movement. Huss was betrayed by the Emperor and put to death at Constance in 1415. This martyrdom led to a long war in Bohemia (1415–36), when racial and political dissensions were mixed with those of religion. The movement, ceasing to be a united national one, was crushed, but the Hussite doctrines were still held by the people, and many of the reformer's pamphlets were circulated in Germany. Luther, however, does not seem to have been influenced by them, for it was only after the disputation at Leipzig (1518) that he carefully studied the teachings of the Bohemian and then declared that he had hitherto been a Hussite without knowing it, and that Paul and Augustine were Hussites too.

Non-ecclesiastical religion in Germany.

§ 4. Other movements less like the Lutheran had a far greater influence upon the sixteenth-century Reformation by preparing the minds of the people for its reception. In the later Middle Ages many German translations of the Scriptures were circulated and read in spite of the prohibition of the Popes, and the natural result of this study was that laymen began to think for themselves. There was also a strong spirit of popular evangelical revival in Germany, and in many homes there was a new atmosphere of earnest piety, while

the people still remained devoted to the Catholic Church.

§ 5. When the Renaissance crossed the Alps it became impressed with the more earnest spirit of the Teutonic races. The knowledge of Greek was applied to the critical examination of the teachings of the New Testament, and to the study of Greek was added that of Hebrew. Some of the most famous of the men of the New Learning were Erasmus, 'the man by himself,' the Oxford Reformers (among whom the great Dutchman has often been included), Reuchlin, and Ulrich von Hutten. The Renaissance in Teutonic lands.

John Reuchlin devoted himself largely to the study of Hebrew and to the critical examination of the Vulgate edition of the Old Testament. In the years 1509–10 he strove to save the Jewish writings from destruction at the hands of Hochstraten the Inquisitor, and his action led to a long controversy in which Reuchlin was supported by the chief German humanists. The 'Letters from Eminent Men' written to defend him first gave to some of the younger men of the New Learning the idea of writing the 'Letters from Obscure Men'; these drew down general ridicule upon the heads of the opponents of the humanists, by whom they were supposed to be written. (*a*) John Reuchlin (1455–1522).

Ulrich von Hutten, 'the stormy petrel of the Reformation,' was more of a patriot than a reformer; he had little sympathy with the deeper religious side of the Reformation, but he threw himself heart and soul into Luther's cause when the great Reformer stood out boldly for freedom of conscience and the independence of the German Church from Rome. (*b*) Ulrich von Hutten, 1488–1523.

The Oxford Reformers were very different from von Hutten. Having a great love of the New Learning (*c*) The Oxford Reformers.

and a sincere desire for ecclesiastical and social reform, they hated the idea of schism and had no intention of breaking with the Church.

John Colet (1466–1519).

John Colet, son of a Lord Mayor of London, studied Greek in Italy and, coming back to England in 1496, began to lecture at Oxford on the Epistles of St. Paul. 'He was the first to apply the critical methods of the New Learning to discover the exact meaning of the Holy Scriptures.'[1]

Colet had a strong belief in a personal religion, and his advice to his students was, 'Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest.' He earnestly worked to bring about a reformation in the lives of the clergy, and urged the enforcement of the regulations of the Canon Law. He believed that the greatest work could be done by the spread of Christian education, and as Dean of St. Paul's he used the fortune he had inherited from his father to found the St. Paul's School (1510).

Colet had much influence over his friends at Oxford—More, Grocyn, Linacre, and the great Erasmus—and later, also, over Tyndale and Latimer.

(*d*) Erasmus, 1467–1536. His literary fame.

Of all the Christian humanists Desiderius Erasmus was the most famous. No scholar since his time has ever enjoyed such a wide reputation. 'He was recognized on both sides of the Alps as the literary chief of Europe.' He owed his earliest education to the school at Deventer established by the brethren of the Common Lot.[2] As a youth he was forced against his will into a

[1] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 166.

[2] The name given to a brotherhood founded in the Low Countries early in the fifteenth century. The aim of the brethren was to better the religious condition of their fellow men by the multiplication of good books and by the careful training of the young. See Lindsay, ibid., pp. 51 ff.

monastery. Escaping thence, he went to the University of Paris, and afterwards to Oxford (1498), where he joined the little band of Colet's friends and studied Greek. His health was poor but his intellect brilliant, and he soon became the greatest scholar of his time, who was able 'to throw the light of his genius and his learning on every controversy of the age', and before whom Popes, princes, statesmen, and scholars bowed.

His feeling about reform.

Erasmus had his own definite conception of the sort of reformation that was needed. He desired, not a revolution in the Church, but a reformation of morals, to be brought about by the spread of a Christian education and to be led by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

His writings and teachings.

In his 'Handbook (or Pocket-Dagger) for the Christian Soldier'[1] (1503) he strove to show that each individual was directly responsible to God apart from any intermediate human agency altogether. In his satire 'The Praise of Folly' (1511) he denounced the folly of the arguments of scholastic theologians, and the vices of Popes, bishops, and monks, and ridiculed the popular belief in pilgrimages, indulgences, and relics. But the greatest work of Erasmus was his edition of the New Testament, first published in 1516, in which the original Greek and his own Latin translation were printed in parallel columns. This book was scattered all over Europe and, by opening the eyes of the people to the story of Christ and His Apostles as it was originally told, it did more than anything else to prepare the way for the Reformation of Luther. During the later years of his life Erasmus devoted his literary energies to publishing editions of the early Christian Fathers.

Although Luther and Erasmus had so much in

[1] *Enchiridion Militis Christiani.*

Erasmus and Luther.

common in their hatred of ecclesiastical abuses and their desire for a purer and more personal religion, they were, nevertheless, strongly opposed in other respects. Erasmus, cautious and timid in spite of his high principles and noble desires, was unwilling to draw down upon himself the opposition of Pope or princes; hating extravagance and dreading war and tumult, he shrank from Luther's violence in speech and action. The latter, on the other hand, caring only for truth, despised what he considered the weakness of Erasmus. But events have amply justified both. The Reformation that has been is Luther's monument: perhaps the Reformation that is to be will trace itself back to Erasmus.'[1]

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Explain fully why the reform movements of the Middle Ages failed while that of the sixteenth century succeeded.

2. To what extent can Savonarola be called a precursor of Luther?

3. 'Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it.' Discuss this statement.

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[1] Beard's *Hibbert Lectures on the Reformation*, p. 73.

CHAPTER X

MARTIN LUTHER AND HIS WORK

§ 1. Martin Luther, 1483-1546.—Early life and education.—In the monastery at Erfurt.—Luther at Wittenberg.—Pilgrimage to Rome.—Professor of Theology, 1512. § 2. The Indulgence Question and the ninety-five theses.—Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg, 1518.—Luther and Miltitz, 1519.—The Leipzig Disputation, 1519. § 3. The Reformation treatises of 1520. § 4. The Bull of Excommunication, 1520.—The Diet of Worms, 1521.—Disappearance of Luther, 1521.—The Edict of Worms, 1521. § 5. Spread of Luther's teaching.—Translation of the Bible. § 6. Carlstadt and the 'prophets' of Zwickau. § 7. Attitude of the Council of Regency towards reform.—§ 8. Reaction against Lutheranism, 1524-5.—The Peasants' War. § 9. The Diet of Spires, 1526. § 10. Second Diet of Spires, 1529. § 11. Diet of Augsburg, 1530.—League of Schmalkalde, 1531. § 12. Diet and Peace of Nuremberg, 1532. § 13. Advance of Protestantism. § 14. The Diet of Ratisbon, 1541. § 15. Charles in Germany, 1545.—Death of Luther, 1546.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.
Henry VII, 1485.
Henry VIII, 1509.

France.
Charles VIII, 1483.
Louis XI, 1498.
Francis I, 1515.

Spain.
Isabella, 1474-1504.
Ferdinand, 1479-1516.
Charles I, 1516.

The Papacy.
Alexander VI, 1492.
Julius II, 1503.
Leo X, 1513.
Adrian VI, 1522.
Clement VII, 1523.
Paul III, 1534.

The Ottoman Empire.
Bajazet II, 1481.
Selim I, 1512.
Solyman I, 1520.

The Empire.
Maximilian I, 1493.
Charles V, 1519.

Martin Luther, 1483–1546.

§ 1. THE ground was prepared, the minds of the people were ready for a reform which the culture of the humanists could not accomplish. True reformation could only proceed from some new religious impulse springing from deep personal conviction. That impulse came to Germany from Martin Luther. A peasant and the son of a peasant, sturdy and vigorous, bold and fearless, earnest and sincere, Luther was a typical German of the day. Cheerful by nature, he nevertheless passed many dark hours in agonizing spiritual conflicts when he believed himself to be wrestling for victory with a visible Satan. He was hospitable, kindly, and gentle in his home-life, but in his struggles with his foes he often displayed a violence and even coarseness offensive to modern taste. Yet he was essentially a great man, whose earnest piety, intense religious conviction, and consciousness of communion with the unseen fitted him to be the leader in the great movement which bears his name. The history of Luther's spiritual experiences and of the growth of his religious convictions is the history of the development of the Reformation principles.

Early life and education.

He was born at Eisleben on November 10, 1483. His father was a miner in the Mansfeld district, who during Martin's early childhood was in very narrow circumstances. The son was educated first at the village school in Mansfeld and afterwards at Magdeburg and Eisleben. His childhood was not a very happy one; his parents were severe, and his earlier schoolmasters were merciless in their treatment of their scholars. At Eisenach he first saw, in the home of a certain Frau Cotta who befriended him, what a happy family life could be. In 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, then the most famous in Germany for its humanistic studies. His parents wished him to study

law, but his own inclinations led him to theology. In 1505 he took his Master's degree, and in the same year, suddenly and unexpectedly, contrary to the will of his father, he entered the monastery of the Augustine Eremites at Erfurt. Many explanations have been given for this action. One story tells us that he was deeply impressed by the sudden death of a companion who had been struck down by lightning at his side, and that he then made a solemn vow to ensure his soul's salvation by withdrawing from the world in the accepted mediaeval fashion. Whether this story be true or not, it is certain that religious trouble led Luther to take the monastic vow. He himself said that in his case the proverb, 'Doubt makes a monk,' was true. During the years he spent in the monastery he fulfilled all his duties, earnestly studying the scholastic[1] philosophy and labouring to save his soul by fasting, scourging, and every other form of discipline. But none of this brought him comfort. He was filled with a great anguish on account of sin, and he dreaded rather than loved God, whom he always thought of as the great Judge of mankind. He made such continual use of the Sacrament of Penance that his superiors became wearied and his brethren looked upon him as a saint. 'If ever a monk had got to heaven by monkery,' he afterwards said, 'I should have been he.' There was little of the joy of life in the Luther of this period—a young man pale and emaciated, with deep-set eyes, and an expression of despair. His appearance attracted the attention of

In the monastery at Erfurt, 1505–8.

[1] 'Scholastic' is the term applied to the characteristic philosophy of the mediaeval theologians. Luther was always more of a schoolman than a humanist in spite of his connexion with the great humanist University of Erfurt. He was too earnest about religious matters to have much time to give to classical studies, though he read a number of Latin authors privately and learnt some Greek.

John Staupitz, the Vicar-General of his order, who questioned him about his difficulties, and encouraged him to study the Bible more closely and to read the writings of Augustine. Peace came to Luther at last. One day, when reading in his cell the Epistle to the Romans, the meaning of the text 'The just shall live by faith' dawned upon him. He knew then why all his confessions, fastings, and penances had not brought comfort to his soul; he realized that when a man has done all the good deeds he can he is still an unprofitable servant, and that, though such external actions as he himself had constantly performed might be useful as aids to religion, they could not bring salvation. He became convinced that the only means by which a man could be saved was faith in God and His promises. To Luther there were two kinds of faith: the one was a merely intellectual belief and comparatively unimportant; the other (the faith that was essential for salvation) was a religious experience during which the individual man became conscious of perfect trust in, and fellowship with, God. It was the experience of this fellowship that brought inward peace and joy to the wearied monk.

Luther at Wittenberg, 1508.

In 1508, through the instrumentality of Staupitz, Luther was sent to teach at the University of Wittenberg, which had been founded by Frederick the Wise in 1502. While there he undertook a more systematic study of the writings of Augustine, and also began to teach.

Pilgrimage to Rome, 1511–12.

In 1511 he was sent to Rome on business of his order. From his boyhood he had cherished a desire to go on this pilgrimage, and the first sight of the city filled him with holy ecstasy. 'I greet thee, thou Holy Rome,' he cried, 'thrice holy from the blood of the martyrs.' Very different, however, were his feelings when he left to return to Germany. He had seen enough of the corrup-

tion and moral degradation of the city and of the Papal Court to make him more and more suspicious of a belief in the efficacy of ceremonial observances, and many times did the words 'the just shall live by faith' recur to him.

Professor of Theology, 1512.

Soon after his return to Wittenberg (1512) Luther graduated as Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, and became Professor of Theology in the University. His lectures and sermons began to make a great impression on those who heard them. His mastery of the German tongue and his eloquence, combined with his earnest conviction, served to make his teaching different from all other. He was still a genuine monk, not consciously opposed in any way to the Catholic Church, but only longing for the reform of its evils and the raising of the standard of religious life around him. He felt that these aims could be accomplished only by bringing home to men a sense of their sins and a realization of God's grace.

The Indulgence Question and the ninety-five theses, 1517.

§ 2. In 1517 occurred the event which first drew Luther into open opposition to the Papacy. John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was sent through Central Germany with an indulgence proclaimed by Pope Leo X; the proceeds from the sale of the indulgence tickets were said to be intended for the building of the new St. Peter's at Rome. Most people were ready to buy the 'papal letters' in the hope that they themselves might be released from some of the consequences of their sins or that they might buy their friends out of purgatory, but the moral effect on the purchasers was bad.

Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, refused to allow Tetzel to enter his dominions, but the monk was admitted into the territories of Duke George, and Ernestine (Electorate) and Albertine (Ducal) lands[1] were so mixed up in Saxony that he was often on the

[1] See pp. 15–16 and Map 5.

borders of the Electorate. Many people, including Erasmus, had written and spoken against the abuse of indulgences, but the first to make a solemn and public protest was Luther.

On October 31, 1517, he nailed to the door of the Church of All Saints at Wittenberg an invitation to all to debate with him, either by speech or by writing, the question of indulgences. To this he affixed the ninety-five theses, or heads of arguments, in which he declared that the papal letters could only remit ecclesiastical penalties, that no one but God could remove guilt, and that, in any case, true repentance was a necessary prelude to pardon; for sincere penitents no indulgence was needed. Such letters, moreover, could have no efficacy in purgatory. The effect of the publication of the propositions was instantaneous; copies were circulated over Germany and all Western Europe. All men read them, all were interested. Luther had the sympathy of the German princes, who did not approve of their subjects' money crossing the Alps; many others also supported him. Few were found to defend the practice of indulgence-selling as it then existed, but many opposed Luther on the ground that he was attacking the authority of the Pope, who, as the representative of the Church, could never err, and others disapproved of his denial of the efficacy of good works. For a year or two the controversy raged, many writings appeared on both sides, and the matter was discussed everywhere. Meanwhile the sale of the indulgences diminished. The Pope, who was indifferent to the 'monkish dispute', could not be indifferent to this serious decline in his revenues, and Luther was summoned to Rome (July, 1518).

This summons was afterwards cancelled, and he was ordered to appear before the Papal Legate, Cardinal

Cajetan, at the Diet of Augsburg (October, 1518). The meeting was not a success; the Legate declined to hear any arguments, and demanded recantation. Luther returned to Wittenberg, and published an account of the interview. One cause of his enormous hold over the German people was that, step by step, he always took them into his confidence; there was never any sudden revolution for them, only the gradual development of religious experience.

Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg, October, 1518.

The favour shown by the Elector Frederick to the monk who had made his beloved university famous, caused Pope Leo X to try to conciliate him by sending to him a consecrated golden rose (January, 1519). The bearer, a Saxon, Carl von Miltitz by name, was at the same time to see Luther and inquire into the question of his opposition. The papal messenger acted diplomatically, and Luther, still respecting the authority of the Church, promised to write a submissive letter to the Pope, and also to remain silent on the disputed points if his opponents would do the same. The silence was broken, however, by a certain John Eck, who announced (March, 1519) a disputation at Leipzig. Eck was a professor at Ingolstadt and one of the most famous controversialists of his day. He had written a reply to the ninety-five theses and was longing to meet Luther in a public discussion.

Luther and Miltitz, January, 1519.

The famous Leipzig Disputation began on June 27, 1519. Eck's aim was to force Luther to commit himself to some statement that would prove him to be a heretic, as the Wiclifites and the Hussites had been; and he succeeded, for, when pressed, Luther declared that he could not condemn all the teachings of Huss as false.

The Leipzig Disputation, June-July, 1519.

The most important result of the discussion was that

it caused Luther to realize his own position and to see that he disagreed with the Church in some of its fundamental teachings. From that time he wrote numberless sermons and pamphlets which were rapidly circulated through Germany. All the younger German humanists, including Ulrich von Hütten, now took his side. He had already been joined by Philip Melanchthon, whose accuracy and wider culture afterwards made his assistance of untold value to Luther in the formulating of his doctrines.

The Reformation treatises of 1520.

§ 3. Meanwhile the arguments of his opponents had led him to examine more closely the foundation for the doctrine of the Pope's absolute supremacy and to study the writings of Huss. With regard to the first question, he found, to his amazement, that the Decretals on which the claim to supremacy was based were full of frauds. The study of the Hussite teachings caused him to realize that he had long been a Hussite without knowing it. In his three treatises of 1520, 'The Liberty of a Christian Man' (October?), 'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation' (August), and 'On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church' (October), Luther denied the authority of the Pope and his claim to be the sole interpreter of the teaching of Scripture and the only person who had the power to summon a General Council. He denied, too, the divine institution of the priesthood, asserting that the Christian priesthood consisted of the whole body of believers, and was not a clerical caste standing between God and man. Man being saved by faith, religion was a personal matter between the individual Christian and the Lord, who was Himself accessible to every believer. He also attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation.

§ 4. Already, in June, 1520, the Pope had, somewhat

reluctantly, issued a Bull of Excommunication against Luther, and in the autumn this was brought into Germany by John Eck. There was some difficulty about its publication, however, and the Elector Frederick refused to allow it to be published in his dominions. On December 10, 1520, in the open space outside the city walls of Wittenberg, and in the presence of professors, students, and citizens, Luther burnt the Pope's Bull. The Pope's last weapon had failed, and Luther had definitely and permanently cut himself off from the Church. Whether the movement now begun should become a national one, or whether it should be extinguished, depended on the action of Charles V, who had been elected Emperor in June, 1519, and crowned at Aachen in October, 1520.

The Bull of Excommunication, 1520.

The first Diet of the reign was summoned to meet at Worms, and was opened by Charles in January, 1521. Among many matters of moment the subject of Luther was to be discussed, and this question, more than any other, was of vital importance in the eyes of the German people. Aleander, the Pope's Legate, sent to the Diet specially to obtain Luther's condemnation, was angered to see what a large proportion of the people sided with the excommunicated man: the poor nobles, scholars, poets, lawyers, most of the monks, many of the clergy, and some of the bishops supported him.

The Diet of Worms, Jan.–May, 1521.

Charles was in a difficult position. The Pope urged him to condemn Luther without delay; he was himself strongly opposed to the actions of the heretic monk; and his position as head of the Holy Roman Empire demanded his defence of the Holy Catholic Church. Yet, at the same time, he was clearly convinced of the necessity for reform in the government and discipline of the Church, and he felt that it was his duty to see that

this reform was accomplished. The consent of the Diet, moreover, was needed for the publication of the Imperial ban. Charles realized, too, that Luther might be useful to him in obtaining better terms from the Pope, with whom he wished to make an alliance against France (p. 70). He decided, therefore, not to act hastily, although he had already determined on Luther's condemnation.

The members of the Diet, most of whom were eager for the reform of abuses in the Church, resolved that Luther should be heard, and that a safe-conduct should be sent to him with the summons to appear before the Diet. On April 2, 1521, he set out for Worms, knowing that he was probably going to his death.

'My dear brother,' he said to Melanchthon at parting, 'if I do not come back, if my enemies put me to death, you will go on teaching and standing fast in the truth; if you live, my death will matter little.'

When reminded that Huss was executed in spite of a safe-conduct, he answered, 'Huss was burned, but not the truth with him.' The greatest enthusiasm was displayed by the crowds on the journey, and, much to the indignation of Aleander and his friends, Luther's entrance into Worms was like a triumphal procession.[1]

On the afternoon of April 17, Luther appeared before the Diet. On a table near he saw a pile of his own books. He was asked whether he was prepared to acknowledge the authorship of these, and to recant his heresies. To the first question he answered in the affirmative, but asked for time to consider his second answer. He was given one day for consideration, and he

[1] For an account of Luther's journey to Worms and his appearances before the Diet see Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, pp. 273–300.

appeared again the following afternoon. Before a most brilliant assembly, including the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand, the Electors and the Princes of the Empire, spiritual and lay, counts, nobles, knights, and the delegates from the free cities, he delivered his famous speech. He expressed his determination to recant nothing unless he could be proved by the Scriptures to be wrong; he asserted that Popes and General Councils had erred in the past, and might therefore err again. 'Here I stand,' he ended; 'I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen.' The Emperor and the Spaniards were little impressed by Luther's speech, but the Germans were delighted with him, even those who did not approve of his teachings admiring his courage and independence. A proposal to rescind the safe-conduct and proceed against Luther as the Council of Constance had proceeded against Huss was firmly negatived by the Diet and caused the wildest indignation among the people. On April 27 Luther left Worms with a safe-conduct lasting for twenty more days, after which time he might be seized and put to death as a heretic. On the journey he suddenly disappeared. Many rumours were circulated to explain what had happened. Luther's travelling wagon had been attacked and he had been captured and carried off, no one knew whither. In reality he had been taken secretly to the Wartburg, the castle of the Elector Frederick, there to remain hidden till the immediate danger was past. Some thought he had been seized by the Imperial or Papal party and put to death, and the greatest anxiety was felt throughout Germany until the news leaked out that he was safe.

Disappearance of Luther, April, 1521.

At Worms there was still some difficulty about the issuing of the Imperial ban, and it was not till May 25, after the departure of Frederick of Saxony and other

The Edict of Worms, May, 1521.

members favourable to Luther, that the consent of the Diet was obtained. This ban, which is known as the Edict of Worms and was dated May 8, declared the heretic's life to be forfeited and ordered all his writings to be burnt. After May 14 none were to receive him into their houses or give him food or drink, under pain of the most severe penalties.

To the ecclesiastical ban had now been added the secular one, but they were equally ineffective.

Charles had already secured the alliance of the Pope; he now left Germany, not to return for nine years.

Spread of Luther's teaching.

§ 5. While Luther was in the Wartburg his views were becoming more and more popular; monks, secular priests, and even bishops preached his doctrines; artists spread his ideas by their pictures and authors by their writings. Men declared that the reformer wrote what all were thinking.

Translation of the Bible.

Meanwhile, Luther himself was hard at work on his translation of the Bible, the first edition of the New Testament appearing in 1522, and the whole Bible in 1535. From a purely literary point of view this translation is a masterpiece; in writing it Luther created German literary prose. His pure but forcible language, his powerful and nervous style, the sympathy which enabled him to reproduce the spirit and feeling of the original, have made his work a German classic. It was not accomplished without much labour. In one of his letters he writes: 'What a great and difficult work it is to make the Hebrew writers speak German! They resist it so, and are not willing to give up their Hebrew existence and imitate German barbarism.'

But it is not only as a literary masterpiece that Luther's Bible is important. There had been many German versions of the Scriptures before (p. 124), but those had

been translated from the Latin Vulgate, which was the authoritative Catholic edition, but did not in every instance give the actual sense of the original. One of the greatest differences between the reformers and the orthodox members of the Church was their attitude towards the Scriptures. The latter were obliged to accept the interpretation given to them by the Church, or else were in danger of spiritual death; but to the former the Scriptures were the Word of God, in which He still spoke directly to each one of them, promising, commanding, comforting, and warning. The orthodox accepted the authority of Popes and Councils in the interpretation of the Bible, the reformers appealed to the Bible as the final authority in their teachings.

Carlstadt and the 'prophets' of Zwickau, 1521.

§ 6. Meanwhile, in Wittenberg, during Luther's absence, the 'tumult' that Erasmus had prophesied was beginning. The more revolutionary spirits were carrying all before them under the leadership of Carlstadt, a university professor, an early follower of Luther and his companion in the Leipzig Disputation.

These were joined by the three 'prophets' of Zwickau, who, believing themselves to be under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit, and, in consequence, to have no need for any other guidance, even that of the Scriptures, had been driven out of their own town as dangerous to its peace (December, 1521). Already Carlstadt had attacked the celibacy of the clergy and the institution of monasticism, and had demanded the abolition of private masses. Now a crusade was begun against pictures and images in the churches; priestly vestments and confession were abandoned; the closing of all places of amusement and education was proposed. Melanchthon, who at first had been inclined to listen to the 'prophets', could not approve of these revolutionary

proceedings, but he had not sufficient decision or force of character to quell the tumult. There was only one man who could do that, and he was in the Castle of Wartburg. The news of the doings of Carlstadt and the 'prophets' filled Luther with dismay, and he felt that they must be stopped at any cost. At the risk of his life, therefore, and in spite of the warnings of the Elector, he made his way to Wittenberg. On Sunday, March 9, 1522, he appeared again in the pulpit at All Saints', and on eight successive days he preached to the people. He spoke with the greatest moderation, mentioning no names, and blaming no individuals, but he urged on all the necessity of abstaining from violence and force. 'The Word created heaven and earth and all things,' he said; 'the same Word will also create now, and not we poor sinners. *Summa summarum*, I will preach it, I will talk about it, but I will not use force or compulsion with any one; for faith must be of free will and unconstrained, and must be accepted without compulsion. . . . If I employ force, what do I gain? Changes in demeanour, outward shows, grimaces, shams, hypocrisies. . . . What we want is the heart, and to win that we must preach the gospel. Then the Word will drop into one heart to-day and to-morrow into another, and so will work that each will forsake the Mass.' The people recognized their leader, order was restored in Wittenberg, and the 'prophets' departed.

Attitude of the Council of Regency towards reform.

§ 7. In the absence of Charles from Germany, the power was in the hands of the newly-formed Council of Regency. Some of the members were favourable to Luther, and the others did not wish to bring upon themselves the unpopularity which would result from the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The new Pope, Adrian VI, however, exhorted them to deliver Luther

into the hands of the Papal Court and to take measures against the spread of his doctrines.

The matter was referred to the Diet of Nuremberg (1522), and, after much discussion, answer was returned that the Edict could not be enforced for fear of civil war; that the evils in the Church were many, and there was urgent need for the Pope to call a free Christian Council in Germany to remove them; that no further Lutheran books or sermons likely to stir up the people should be printed. At the same time the Pope was presented with a list of one hundred German grievances against the Papal Court.

The Council of Regency was not popular, and it retained little influence after its failure to put down the Knights' War[1] in 1523–4.

Reaction against Lutheranism, 1524–5.

§ 8. This war, led by men known to be on the side of the reformers, reacted on the Reformation, in spite of Luther's disclaiming all responsibility. Many realized that the ferment in the country was due, partly at any rate, to the spread of the new religious opinions.

Germany began to be divided into two hostile camps. In 1525 the Diet of Nuremberg promised to execute the Edict of Worms 'as well as they were able, and as far as was possible'. At the same time they renewed their demand for a General Council to meet in a German town to settle the affairs of the Church in Germany, and they proposed the meeting of another Diet at Spires to consider anew the grievances of the nation against the Papacy. Pope Clement VII was dissatisfied with these decisions, and persuaded Charles to forbid the meeting of the Diet at Spires and to command obedience to the Edict of Worms.

Cardinal Campeggio, however, the Papal Legate in

[1] See ch. xi.

Germany, had noticed signs of a reaction against the reformers. Taking advantage of this, he began to negotiate with the princes who were least favourably disposed to Luther. The chief of these were Duke George of Saxony, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Elector of Brandenburg, and, meeting at Ratisbon (June, 1524), they agreed on the reform of some of the worst abuses in Church discipline, and decided to take measures to suppress the Lutheran movement. From that time all united national effort for reform ceased.

The rise of a party definitely opposed to Luther led to the formation of a party in his favour; this was headed by Frederick the Wise of Saxony, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and his brother Albert, head of the Teutonic Order in East Prussia,[1] and they were joined by the free cities.

In 1525, Luther's protector, Frederick of Saxony,[2] died; he was succeeded by his brother John, a very zealous reformer.

The Peasants' War, 1524–5.

Luther felt very strongly that the success of the movement which he had so much at heart would be seriously threatened by anything like turbulence or disorder. It was this conviction which led him not only to refuse to sympathize with his own class when the Peasants' War broke out (1524), but even to hound on the princes in their efforts completely to crush the

[1] Albert secularized the estates of the Teutonic Knights (1525), and became Duke of Prussia.

[2] Frederick of Saxony never definitely broke with the Church, though he was strongly in favour of its reform. His love of fairness and his desire for national independence made him the loyal protector of Luther. His one really Protestant action was to take the Communion in both kinds on his death-bed.

rebels. This revolt, nevertheless, was also laid to the charge of the Reformation, and, as a consequence, the party opposed to reform was strengthened. In the dominions of the princes of this party the suppression of the rebellion was followed by the persecution of the Lutherans.

§ 9. At the Diet of Spires (1526) the religious question was again discussed. The hostility between Charles and the Pope, which followed soon after the Treaty of Madrid, prevented any decisive action against the reformers. After much discussion, the Diet decided that the Word of God should be preached without disturbance, and that, with regard to the Edict of Worms, until the meeting of a General Council in a German city, each state should so live, rule, and conduct itself as it hoped to answer for its conduct to God and to the Emperor. The Diet of Spires, 1526.

This decision did much to strengthen the independence and individual authority of the princes; it was the establishment of the principle afterwards described as '*cuius regio eius religio*'. The Reformation had failed to bring unity to Germany.

The Lutheran states and cities interpreted the decision as giving them the legal right to organize territorial churches and change the public worship to suit their beliefs. The result was a great increase in Lutheranism in many states; in these the services were read in German, Luther's Bible and hymns were used, monasteries were suppressed and their revenues appropriated for religious or educational purposes, while monks and nuns were allowed to marry. Luther himself threw off his monastic vows, and married Catherine Bora, a former nun.

§ 10. When the second Diet of Spires met three

Second Diet of Spires, 1529.

years later (1529), the Emperor had made peace with the Pope. The decision of 1526 was revoked, any further innovations were forbidden, the Zwinglians[1] were no longer to be tolerated, and no ecclesiastical body was to be deprived of its revenues.

This ordinance drew forth a formal 'Protest' from the reforming party, who henceforth were known as Protestants.

Danger from the Turks, however, temporarily united the Germans. Solyman had conquered a large part of Hungary, and in September, 1529, he laid siege to Vienna. Catholics and Protestants joined the Archduke Ferdinand, and the siege was raised in October.

Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

§ 11. In the next year, Charles, having made peace with all his enemies and been crowned Emperor at Bologna, once more visited Germany. He hoped, by using persuasion and making such concessions as his conscience permitted, to secure unity in the land. If these means failed, he was determined to employ force to crush the Reformation.

On June 20, 1530, Charles formally opened the Diet of Augsburg. The Protestants were asked to give the Emperor in writing their opinions and their difficulties. This they did in the famous Confession of Augsburg, for the wording of which Melanchthon was chiefly responsible. In this document the reformers showed why they could not remain in communion with an *unreformed* Church, but the differences between the Lutherans and the Catholics were minimized as far as possible, Melanchthon's great desire being to bring about a

[1] Followers of Ulrich Zwingli, the Swiss reformer (see ch. xii). Luther utterly disagreed with Zwingli on the subject of the Sacraments. Many people in South Germany accepted the Zwinglian doctrines.

reconciliation.[1] This wish was not to be gratified. No compromise between the parties could be arrived at, and the decree of the Diet declared that, if the Protestants had not decided voluntarily to return to the Catholic Church by April 15, 1531, they were then to be put down by force. The Imperial Court of Appeal was revived, that it might be used in all disputed legal cases, especially in such as were connected with the appropriation of monastic or other ecclesiastical lands for Protestant purposes.

League of Schmalkalde, 1531.

In December, 1530, the Protestants met at Schmalkalde to determine upon a plan of action. In spite of Luther's strong feeling against the employment of force, it was decided that this means might have to be used, and the League of Schmalkalde was formed for the defence of Protestantism (March, 1531).

The decree of the Diet of Augsburg was not carried out. Charles wished for peace to procure the election of his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans.

Diet and Peace of Nuremberg, 1532.

§ 12. When the Emperor met the Diet of Nuremberg in 1532 his need of help against the Turks caused him to conciliate the Protestants. The processes in the Imperial Chamber were stopped, and Charles promised that, if the Pope did not convoke a General Council, he himself would summon an assembly of the Empire to settle the religious question. The Protestants now loyally declared their trust in his word and supplied him with troops. Charles led a large army against the Turks and they were quickly driven back (1532).

§ 13. For the next twelve years other complications pre-

[1] Luther, still an outlaw, was not present at Augsburg. All news was brought to him at Coburg, where he suffered much from the fear that Melanchthon, in his desire for peace, might be persuaded to give way too far.

Advance of Protestantism, 1532–44.

vented the Emperor from dealing with the Protestants. Meanwhile the movement advanced in Germany. In 1534 the League of Schmalkalde restored Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg to his dominions. He had been driven out by the Swabian League in 1519, and his lands incorporated with the Hapsburg dominions. Duke Ulrich declared himself a Lutheran, and Würtemberg became a Protestant state in the midst of the Catholic ones of South Germany.

In the same year (1534) a rising of the Anabaptists[1] under John of Leyden threatened to injure the Protestant cause. The excesses of these people were so great, however, that no one could in justice charge the Lutherans with complicity. The rising was put down (1535) and John of Leyden executed.

The death, in 1539, of Duke George of Saxony, the most honest and determined of the Catholic princes, and the accession of his Lutheran brother Henry, added Ducal Saxony to the number of Protestant states. In 1539, also, the Elector of Brandenburg declared for Lutheranism, and Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and the three Rhenish Electorates remained as the only strong Catholic states. In the previous year these Catholic princes had formed the League of Nuremberg, ostensibly to defend themselves against the Protestants. This policy, however, did not commend itself to Charles, who, unable to come to terms with Francis (pp. 89–90), was very anxious for peace in Germany.

The Diet of Ratisbon, 1541.

§ 14. At the Diet of Ratisbon (1541) another attempt

[1] A sect which arose in the early Reformation times. They disapproved of infant baptism, and consequently re-baptized those who joined their body—hence their name. With the baptism of adults they connected principles subversive of all order and authority, and their fanatical excesses often did much harm to the Protestant cause.

at compromise was made. A conference between Lutheran and Catholic theologians showed that, though some of the doctrines could be stated in such a way as to be accepted by both parties, there were other questions affecting the constitution of the Church (e. g. the institution of priesthood—p. 136), which admitted of no compromise.

Charles, anxious to conciliate the Protestants, issued a declaration confirming the Treaty of Nuremberg and allowing all who had taken for themselves ecclesiastical property to retain it for the time being. In consequence of this, the League of Schmalkalde drove the Duke of Brunswick from his duchy when, in 1542, he endeavoured to force the decisions of the Imperial Chamber contrary to the declaration of Charles.

About this time the favour which the Archbishop of Cologne was showing to the Protestants caused great anxiety among the Catholics.

Charles in Germany, 1545.

§ 15. In 1544 the Peace of Crespi left Charles free to attend to German affairs. He was resolved to put down Lutheranism, but he meant to act warily. He forced Pope Paul III to summon a General Council; this was to meet at Trent in March, 1545, and the Protestants were invited to send delegates. They, however, refused to be bound in any way by the decisions of a Council in which Spaniards and Italians formed a majority. Charles now attempted to win over some of the leading Protestants.

Death of Luther, 1546.

While these negotiations were proceeding, and before the outbreak of the war which he had worked so hard to avoid, on February 17, 1546, Martin Luther died. The German Reformation was essentially the work of the people, led by one who was ready to act while they were only thinking. After the Peasants' War,

however, when Luther unfortunately felt it necessary actively to side with the rulers, the control of the movement passed into the hands of the princes.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. 'If eras can be dated, modern history begins on December 10, 1520.' How can this statement be justified? Mention, with reasons, any other dates that might be substituted.
2. Discuss the character of Martin Luther and its effect upon the Reformation.
3. 'The Reformation was the assertion of the principle of individuality.' Explain this.

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CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS WARS IN GERMANY

§ 1. Charles V and the German nation. § 2. The Knights' War, 1522–3. § 3. Risings of the peasants before 1523.—The Peasants' War, 1524–5. § 4. The Schmalkaldic War, 1546–52.—Maurice of Saxony.—Outbreak of war, June, 1546.—Battle of Mühlberg, April, 1547.—Imprisonment of the Landgrave Philip, 1547.—The Interim, May, 1548.—Strengthening of Emperor's authority, 1548. § 5. Unpopularity of Charles.—Treaty of Friedwald, January, 1552.—Outbreak of war, 1552.—Treaty of Passau, 1552.—Death of Maurice of Sievershausen, 1553. § 6. Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555. § 7. Germany after 1555.—Bohemian Royal Charter.—Maximilian of Bavaria and Donauwörth.—The Protestant Union, 1608.—The Catholic League, 1609.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.
Henry VIII, 1509.
Edward VI, 1547.
Mary, 1553.
Elizabeth, 1558.
James I, 1603.

France.
Francis I, 1515.
Henry II, 1547.
Francis II, 1559.
Charles IX, 1560.
Henry III, 1574.
Henry IV, 1589.

Spain.
Charles I, 1516.
Philip II, 1556.
Philip III, 1598.

The Empire.
Charles V, 1519.
Ferdinand I, 1558.
Maximilian II, 1564.
Rudolf II, 1576.

The Papacy.
Leo X, 1513.
Adrian VI, 1522.
Clement VII, 1523.
Paul III, 1534.
Julius III, 1550.
Paul III, 1555.
Pius IV, 1559.
Pius V, 1566.
Gregory XIII, 1572.
Sixtus V, 1585.

The Papacy (cont.).
Gregory XIV, 1590.
Clement VIII, 1592.
Paul V, 1605.

The Ottoman Empire.
Solyman I, 1520.
Selim II, 1566.
Amurath III, 1574.
Mohammed III, 1595.
Achmet I, 1603.

§ 1. GERMANY was full of hope at the beginning of Charles V's reign. A desire for national unity and independence was felt throughout the land. All men longed

Charles V and the German nation.

for a reform of the Church and for freedom from the Papal exactions. There was great social discontent,[1] it is true, but it was hoped that under a new régime the causes of this might be removed. The Emperor was young, and little was known of him in Germany. Much interest, therefore, attached to the meeting of his first Diet at Worms in 1521 (p. 137). There was the possibility that Charles might put himself at the head of a national movement against the tyranny of Rome, and establish a strong national government. The hopes of the people, however, were doomed to disappointment. Charles allied himself with the Pope, and issued the ban against Luther. In the settlement of the Imperial Constitution, he agreed to restore the Council of Regency (p. 47) as the supreme executive body for home and foreign affairs, but he stipulated that its powers should continue only during his absence, and that all its actions should be subject to his confirmation. The only people satisfied with the result of the Diet were the Electors and the Princes, and even they felt some regret, because Charles had retained more authority than they wished over the Council of Regency and the Imperial Chamber.

The Knights' War, 1522–3.

§ 2. All hope of national unity was at an end. Germany was henceforth to be sacrificed to the Spanish policy of Charles V. The knights (p. 16) especially were disappointed in the Diet of Worms; they hated the Electors, the princes, and the cities, and acknowledged only the authority of the Emperor. At this period their leaders were Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten. Sickingen was the greatest soldier of his day; he could assemble an army of 10,000 men under his banners. Many times had Maximilian employed him. France had eagerly sued for his favour, and he had

[1] For the condition of Germany, see Introduction, B, pp. 15–17.

played an important part in the election of Charles V. Hutten also belonged to the class of the knights, but, while Sickingen was essentially a man of action, he was an idealist—a poet, orator, and political and social agitator. One of the most famous of the German humanists, fired by the example of Luther, he forsook the classics for his own tongue, and wrote fierce and biting pamphlets against the tyranny and the worldliness of Rome, urging his countrymen to free themselves from her authority. He hoped great things from Charles V, but when his expectations were not realized he joined Sickingen in an attempt to bring about political and religious reform by means of the knights and their arms. A league of the knights of the Upper Rhine was organized, all the members binding themselves to resist the encroachments of the princes and the exactions of Rome.

In 1522 Sickingen attacked his neighbour, the Elector of Treves; he knew there was a strong Lutheran party in the city, and he hoped to win their support. Great was his surprise, therefore, to find the citizens hold out against him, when he arrived with his army and announced that he had come to free the people from the Pope and the priests, and to punish the Archbishop for his sins. Meanwhile, the princes recognized the danger to their order in attacks of this sort, and, as the Council of Regency seemed helpless, they themselves marched against Sickingen. The latter was obliged to retreat from Treves and to retire to his castle of Landstuhl. There the princes, under the Elector Palatine and Philip of Hesse, besieged him; their artillery soon battered down the walls of the fortress, and Sickingen himself fell in the attack (April, 1523). Hutten fled to Switzerland, where he died a few weeks later.

The attempt to reform the Empire by force of arms

was thus a political, rather than a religious, revolt, but it was, nevertheless, an accompaniment of the Reformation, expressing the spirit of the times.

Risings of the peasants before 1523.

§ 3. A far more terrible outbreak began in 1524. From the middle of the fourteenth century there had been a strong feeling of discontent among the peasants in Germany, as in the other parts of Western and Central Europe; at various times this found expression in open rebellion. The Swiss Confederates and the peasants of the Rhaetian Alps[1] had shown what their class could accomplish in a determined uprising against the tyranny of their lords. It was in the south and south-west of the Empire, in the parts nearest to Switzerland, that most of the revolts of the poor against the rich took place. The grievances were always the same—the heavy ecclesiastical exactions, the services and dues demanded by the feudal lords, and the oppressive sporting rights of the latter.

The feeling was strongest against the bishops and abbots, who were both spiritual and feudal lords, and could exercise their ecclesiastical authority over those who opposed them.

At the end of the fifteenth century the discontented peasantry took as their emblem the 'Bundschuh',[2] and banners with this device were carried in the rebellions round Kempten (east of Lake Constance) in 1492, and in Alsace in 1493.

The first four years of the sixteenth century were years of famine, owing to the failure of the harvests.

[1] The peasants of the Rhaetian Alps won their freedom during the years 1424–71; they followed the example of the Swiss and formed a confederacy called the Graubund. Their territory, the Grisons, did not become a Swiss canton until 1803.

[2] The Bundschuh was the tied shoe worn by the peasants as distinguished from the buckled shoe of the upper classes.

Once more, therefore, peasant risings took place—near to Kempten again, in Alsace, and in Franconia. These were all put down, and it was not till 1512 that the next movement, on a larger scale than the preceding ones, occurred in the Black Forest district. The leader was a soldier, Joss Fritz, who had great powers of organization; the secret leaked out, however, before full preparations had been made, and the rising was crushed.

In 1514 the peasants of Würtemberg rose against the oppression of Duke Ulrich, and in the following year there were revolts in the Austrian Alps; but they all had the same ending—the nobles were ever victorious.

The Peasants' War, 1524-5.

To the peasants, therefore, Luther's preaching of the Gospel made a special appeal. They heard that in God's sight all were equal, that He made no distinction between priest and layman, rich and poor: once more hope came to them, and with it a greater feeling of dissatisfaction with existing conditions, and a stronger determination to change them.

The rebellion began suddenly in Swabia in the summer of 1524; it soon spread over the greater part of Germany—Bavaria, Hesse, and the north and north-east provinces being the only districts to escape. The demands of the rebels were, as a rule, remarkably moderate; in the south-west of Germany they were formulated in what is known as the Twelve Articles. They demanded:—

1. That each village community should choose its own pastor and dismiss him if he were unsatisfactory.

2. That while the great tithe (of corn) should still be paid, the little tithe (of eggs, lambs, calves, &c.) should be abolished, and that, of the great tithe, as much as was necessary should be used to pay the priest's stipend and the rest given to the poor.

3. That serfdom should be abolished.

4. That wild game and fish should be free to all.

5. That fuel from the woods should be free to all.

6. That no services beyond those their forefathers had performed should be required of them.

7. That all other services should be paid for in wages.

8. That rents should be regulated afresh according to the value of the land.

9. That arbitrary punishments should cease.

10. That the pastures and fields that had once belonged to the community should be restored.

11. That the usage whereby the landlord seized as a death-duty the most valuable chattel of a deceased tenant should cease.

12. That their demands should be tested by the Word of God, and if any of them should be found opposed to its teaching they should be rejected.

Such were the demands of the peasants, but they were at once refused by the feudal lords. In some parts wilder and more fanatical spirits took the lead, and these were not satisfied with the Twelve Articles. In Thuringia especially, in the town of Mühlhausen, the wildest ideas were prevalent. There Münzer, one of the 'prophets' of Zwickau, had for some time been preaching what he believed to be the gospel and advocating community of goods. In Franconia, again, a bold scheme was drawn up for reforming the Empire on a democratic basis.

The rebellion was so sudden and so widespread that at first it carried everything before it. The Council of Regency was as helpless as it had been at the time of the Knights' War; large numbers of German soldiers were fighting for Charles in Italy, and Ferdinand[1] was

[1] In 1521 Charles had handed over to his brother Ferdinand his hereditary Hapsburg dominions.

fully occupied in obtaining further supplies of money and men for his brother. The peasants, however, soon became demoralized, and in some places most horrible excesses took place. They had no skilful leaders, they lacked discipline, and with their poor arms were little able to withstand the well-equipped and well-drilled armies of their lords. In Swabia and Franconia the rebels were crushed by the forces of the league, under George Truchsess; Mühlhausen was taken by Philip of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony, and Münzer was executed; while the insurrections in Elsass and the districts near were put down by the Duke of Lorraine.

The risings in the Tyrol, in Salzburg, and in Styria maintained themselves till the spring of 1526, but all the others were crushed before the end of 1525. More than 100,000 peasants perished, but nothing was gained; oppression increased, and serfdom continued to exist in Germany till the nineteenth century. 'The year 1525 is one of the saddest in the annals of the Fatherland.'

§ 4. In many states the suppression of the revolt was followed by persecution of the Protestants. The division between the two religious parties became more marked,[1] but there was no open warfare during the lifetime of Luther. The Emperor continually needed the united assistance of his subjects, sometimes against France and the Pope, sometimes against the Turk. A little before the reformer's death, however, having made peace with France in 1544, he returned to Germany determined to carry out one of the terms of the Treaty of Crespi by restoring unity to the Church. On his arrival he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Protestant princes, and talked of the reforms to be made by the Council of Trent. For some time, failing to realize the

The Schmalkaldic War, 1546–52.

[1] See ch. x.

Emperor's intentions, the League of Schmalkalde remained inactive, and, when at last there could be no doubt that war would break out, the Protestants were divided in their counsels. Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, the most beloved of all the German rulers, the one who had never feared the peasants, but had been ready to listen to their requests, was the ablest commander of the Schmalkaldic League. A Landgrave, however, could not command an Elector, and John Frederick of Saxony, the most powerful member of the league and a loyal Protestant, was not a competent general. Charles, too, had been successful in winning some of the princes to his side. He persisted in declaring that the war was political, not religious, and that he was fighting only those of his subjects who had rebelled against the Imperial authority.

Maurice of Saxony.

By arguments such as these and by the promise of the Electoral dignity, then held by the Ernestine branch of the family, the Emperor won over Maurice, Duke of Saxony.[1] This prince was the son of Protestant parents (Henry, Duke of Saxony, 1539–41, and Catherine of Mecklenburg), but as boy and youth he had spent much time with his Catholic uncle, Duke George (1500–39). Though Maurice himself was a Protestant and had married the daughter of Philip of Hesse, he had refused to become a member of the League of Schmalkalde; he had, however, declared that he would help the Protestants if they were in danger. At his accession he had recalled some of the ministers of Duke George, notably one Carlowitz, through whom most of the negotiations with the Emperor were carried on. There had always been jealousy between the Ducal and the Electoral branches

[1] For the House of Saxony, see Genealogical Table VI.

of the House of Saxony, and Maurice had also a personal quarrel with his cousin, John Frederick.[1] Under these circumstances the Duke was willing to listen to the arguments and promises of the Emperor. The Electors of the Palatinate and of Brandenburg also agreed to remain neutral.

Meanwhile, Charles had collected an army of Spaniards in the south of Germany, the league having made no effort to occupy the passes of the Alps against them. Altogether, at this time, the divisions in the Schmalkaldic camp contrasted very unfavourably with the firmness of purpose displayed by the Imperial party; to a great extent this was accounted for by the weakness of John Frederick both as statesman and as commander, and to the want of organization in the league. Instead of following a bold policy, they acted on the defensive in the country between the Rhine and the Danube, and gave Charles time to concentrate his forces. The Imperial ban had been issued against the Protestant princes in June, 1546, and on October 27 the dignity of Elector had been transferred from John Frederick of Saxony to Duke Maurice. Immediately after this, the latter, at Charles's command, invaded the Electorate to occupy his cousin's forfeited lands. In conjunction with Ferdinand of Austria these were quickly occupied, and the news caused the army of the league to be broken up, the various members marching to defend their own states. John Frederick not only recovered his territories, but also invaded the duchy, where only Dresden and Leipzig held out against him. Maurice sent to Charles for help, but there was some delay before it arrived, and, if John had possessed as much

Outbreak of war, June, 1546.

[1] John, Elector of Saxony, had died in 1532. John Frederick was his son.

energy and insight as his cousin, the help might have come too late.

Battle of Mühlberg, April, 1547.

The Imperial army entered Saxony on April 11, 1547, and joined Maurice; thirteen days later, at the battle of Mühlberg, John Frederick was defeated and taken prisoner. A sentence of death was passed upon him, but it was not carried into effect. The prisoner was compelled to sign the capitulation of Wittenberg (May 19), whereby he renounced all right to the Electorate and resigned most of his territories; he surrendered himself to the Emperor, and acknowledged the authority of the Imperial Chamber. John Frederick's lands were divided between Maurice and Ferdinand, the former agreeing to secure to his cousin's children the cities of Gotha and Weimar and the districts round, together with a pension of 50,000 florins a year. Nothing could shake the prisoner's adherence to Lutheranism, and, three years later, Charles secretly decreed that he should be detained for life.

Imprisonment of the Landgrave Philip, 1547.

Four weeks after, Philip of Hesse was induced to surrender, Maurice of Saxony and the Elector of Brandenburg pledging their words that he should not be imprisoned. Charles, however, disregarding the pledge the two princes had given, ordered him to be thrown into prison. Philip was forced to agree to the surrender of the Hessian strongholds and the demolition of their fortifications, to set free the Duke of Brunswick (p. 149), and to pay a fine.

His enemies having been overcome, the Emperor now turned his attention to the settlement of the religious question. During his struggle with the Schmalkaldic League he had lost the friendship of the Pope, who, dreading the strengthening of Charles's authority, had transferred the Council from Trent to Bologna, and had

withdrawn the Papal forces from the imperial army before the battle of Mühlberg.

The Emperor, therefore, was left to settle matters in Germany for himself. On May 19, 1548, he published the Interim, a confession of faith which he had caused to be drawn up in the hope that its acknowledgement would enable all Germany to remain in one national Church. This document was Catholic in spirit, but it made a few concessions to the Protestants. It taught the dogma of transubstantiation, insisted on the Seven Sacraments, and declared the Pope to be the head of the Church; at the same time it adopted the doctrine of Justification by Faith in a modified form, and allowed the marriage of priests, and, with some reservations, the Communion in both kinds. The Interim, May, 1548.

The Interim was accepted by the Diet of Augsburg in May, 1548, but it pleased neither party. The Catholics were not required to adopt it, and, while some of the more prudent of the Protestant rulers proclaimed it, none enforced it. Maurice of Saxony, who had obtained the consent of his subjects to his invasion of the Electorate only on condition that he did not change their religion, was allowed to modify the Interim, his edition being called the Leipzig Interim. In the cities of Southern Germany Charles enforced obedience by means of his Spanish soldiers; Augsburg, Ulm, Constance, Strasburg, and Ratisbon were all attacked, but even there, though the people did not actively resist, the churches were empty. In a short time the Interim was practically a dead letter.

Charles was not content with establishing his authority in religious matters. At the same Diet of Augsburg (1548) he secured the right of nominating the members of the Imperial Chamber. The Netherlands were put Strengthening of Emperor's authority 1548.

under the protection of the Empire and definitely organized as one of the Circles; they were to contribute to Imperial taxation, but were not to be subject to Imperial jurisdiction.

Unpopularity of Charles.

§ 5. Meanwhile the Emperor's rule had become most unpopular. The strengthening of his authority and the attempt to secure the succession to the Empire for his son Philip was disliked by the princes, and was naturally opposed by the Archduke Ferdinand. The whole nation hated the occupation of Germany by Spanish troops, and friends and enemies alike sympathized with John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse in the treatment they had received at the Emperor's hands. In this unpopularity Maurice shared; he found that the Catholics suspected, and the Protestants hated him, and, at the same time, Charles hesitated to fulfil his promises, fearing that the Duke might become too strong. Maurice resented the Emperor's high-handed measures, and he was concerned for the Protestant cause. At last he succeeded in opening negotiations with the princes. They suspected his action in attempting to enforce the Interim on the people of Magdeburg; he explained, however, that he continued in this policy only to lull the suspicions of the Emperor, and he promised not to interfere with the religion of the citizens if they submitted. The princes still hesitated; they could not overcome their distrust of Maurice, and not till the spring of 1551 did they come to an agreement to unite in defence of the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany, and to work for the release of the captive princes.

Maurice did not yet openly break with the Emperor. He continued the siege of Magdeburg, as this gave him the opportunity of collecting an independent army.

The city surrendered in November, 1551, and, after secret negotiations with its conqueror, made him its Burgrave, an office generally held by the Electoral branch of the family.

Meanwhile, feeling they were not strong enough to act alone against Charles, the princes had opened negotiations with Henry II of France, and in January, 1552, they concluded the Treaty of Friedwald, whereby, in return for his assistance, the French monarch was to be allowed to rule the French-speaking cities of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambray, with the title of Imperial Vicar. Treaty of Friedwald, Jan., 1552.

In March, 1552, Maurice sent a manifesto to Ferdinand complaining of the 'infamy and unreasonableness' of Philip's imprisonment, of the dominion of foreign troops, and of the 'beastly (*viehische*) hereditary servitude' which Charles had attempted to impose upon the Germans.

In the same month the war began. The united forces of Maurice of Saxony, the young William of Hesse, and Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg marched upon Augsburg, 'the watch-tower of the Imperial power'; the Lutheran Church was restored, and the Imperial garrison hastily evacuated the city. Outbreak of War, March, 1552.

Ferdinand now obtained a conference with Maurice at Linz (April 18), and terms for a future peaceful settlement were agreed upon. A second meeting was arranged at Passau for May 26, when an armistice was to be granted.

Maurice was urged by the French and by some of the princes to take decisive measures before that date. Marching towards the Tyrol, therefore, he seized the Castle of Ehrenburg, which commanded the pass to Innsbrück, where the Emperor was. Charles had

already unsuccessfully attempted to escape northwards to the Netherlands; now, suffering from a severe attack of gout, he was hastily borne in a litter across the Brenner Pass into Italy. Maurice arrived at Innsbrück a few hours after Charles had left.

Treaty of Passau, June, 1552.

In June, 1552, negotiations for peace were resumed between Ferdinand and Maurice. By the Treaty of Passau it was agreed that the imprisoned princes should be released, and the religious question settled on the basis of liberty of conscience at a Diet which was to meet within six months. Charles signed this treaty most reluctantly (Aug. 15); he felt very keenly the occupation of the 'three bishoprics' by France, and was determined not to acquiesce in a permanent annexation. In October he led an army against Metz, but his efforts failed,[1] and in January, 1553, he was obliged to retire.

In this attempt Charles had been assisted by Albert of Brandenburg, and he now encouraged the lawlessness of this prince, who refused to accept the Treaty of Passau and was attempting to increase his possessions by warfare. In February, 1553, the princes, led by Ferdinand and Maurice, formed the League of Heidelberg to support order and carry out the treaty. They marched against Albert and defeated him at Sievershausen (July), but,

Death of Maurice at Sievers-hausen, July, 1553.

in the battle, Maurice, the most statesmanlike of the princes, and an apt pupil of Charles, fell mortally wounded. The duchy and the Electorate of Saxony passed to the late Duke's brother Augustus, who came to terms with his Ernestine relations. Albert of Brandenburg was driven from Germany in the following year.

Religious Peace of

§ 6. It was not till February, 1555, that the Diet,

[1] See ch. vi, p. 93.

promised in the Treaty of Passau, met at Augsburg under the presidency of Ferdinand, to whom Charles had, in a limited manner, handed over the management of German affairs. Augsburg, Feb., 1555.

All desired a permanent settlement, but the arrangement of terms caused great difficulty. Finally, it was decided that the Lutheran Church should be legally recognized, and that all Lutheran princes or free cities should have full security for the practice of their faith. The decision of the ruler, however, in the choice between the two faiths was to bind all his subjects, those who did not agree with him having the right to emigrate. In causes of dispute between a Catholic and a Lutheran, the Imperial Chamber was to be composed of an equal number of assessors from each party.

The settlement of the question of Church lands caused great difficulty. At last it was decided that all ecclesiastical possessions which had been secularized before 1552 were to be retained by the Lutherans, but any ecclesiastic who changed his faith afterwards was to forfeit his lands and his dignities. By this decision, which is known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation, the Protestants refused to be bound. It was further agreed that toleration should be granted to Lutherans who were living within the territories of Catholic princes.

Such was the Religious Peace of Augsburg. The mediaeval church system was broken through; toleration was granted to electors, princes, and states of the Empire, though not individually to their subjects. The omission from the terms of the treaty of all Protestants, except those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, and the question of Ecclesiastical Reservations, led to innumerable disputes, which finally ended in the Thirty

Years' War (1618–48). In 1556 Charles resigned the Empire, to which Ferdinand was elected in 1558.

Germany after 1555.

§ 7. For some time the reformed faith spread rapidly, even in the Catholic States of Austria and Bavaria.

The Emperor Ferdinand (1558–64[1]) dealt leniently with the Protestants, and Maximilian, his son (1564–76), was almost inclined to Lutheranism. This prince was far in advance of his age in his desire for toleration. On the other hand, his son, Rudolf II (1576–1612), had been brought up in Spain and had imbibed the religious ideas of that land. His weakness of character, however, prevented his convictions from being of much importance. In 1609 the Bohemians extorted from the Emperor their Royal Charter, by which they obtained the promise of complete religious toleration until an entirely uniform religion should be established in the Empire.

Meanwhile the Catholic Church was much strengthened by reforms and by the influence of the Jesuits, while the Protestants were weakened by the divisions between Lutherans and Calvinists.

In 1607 Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, a devoted Catholic, attacked the Lutheran city of Donauwörth, for the purpose of executing the Imperial ban which had been issued against it on account of its opposition to the processions of Catholic monks in its streets. Protestantism was suppressed, and the city practically annexed to Bavaria. The Protestant princes protested, but without avail, and in 1608 a number of them formed a union for mutual protection; the Elector Palatine, a Calvinist, was at the head, and consequently the Lutherans refused to join the union.

Protestant Union, 1608.

[1] Charles abdicated in 1556, but Ferdinand, although King of the Romans since 1531, was not actually elected Emperor till 1558.

In the following year the Catholics responded by a league formed at Munich under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. Little was needed at this time to provoke war in Germany, and, had it not been for his sudden death, Henry IV of France would probably have taken advantage of the state of affairs and actively assisted the German Protestants; the assassination of the French King postponed the struggle.

Catholic League, 1609.

SUGGESTIONS OF SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS AND QUESTIONS

1. How did (1) the French King, (2) the Pope, and (3) the Turks, assist the Reformation movement in Germany?

2. Discuss the connexion between the Peasants' War (1524-5) and the Reformation.

3. Why did the Reformation in Germany lead to civil war?

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

As for Chapter X.

CHAPTER XII

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND: ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

A. § 1. Reformation in Switzerland. § 2. Ulrich Zwingli, 1484-1531.—His youth and education. § 3. Zwingli at Glarus and Einsiedeln, 1506-19. § 4. Zwingli at Zurich, 1519-31.—The Reformation adopted by Zurich, 1523-5.—Spread of the movement. § 5. Opposition of the Forest Cantons.—First Peace of Kappel, 1529.—Battle and Second Peace of Kappel, 1531. § 6. Zwingli and Luther.

B. § 7. John Calvin, 1509-64.—Early life and education. § 8. Calvin at Orleans, Bourges, and Paris, 1528-33. § 9. *The Institutes*, 1536. § 10. Geneva. § 11. Calvin in Geneva, 1536-8.—Calvin's reforms. § 12. His banishment from Geneva, 1538-41. § 13. Calvin again in Geneva, 1541-64.—The 'Libertines'.—Education in Geneva.—Calvinism.—Death of Calvin, 1564.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.

Henry VIII, 1509.
Edward VI, 1547.
Mary, 1553.
Elizabeth, 1558.

France.

Louis XII, 1498.
Francis I, 1515.
Henry II, 1547.
Francis II, 1559.
Charles IX, 1560.

Spain.

Isabella, 1474-1504.
Ferdinand, 1479-1516.
Charles I, 1516.
Philip II, 1556.

The Empire.

Maximilian I, 1493.
Charles V, 1519.
Ferdinand I, 1558.

The Papacy.

Alexander VI, 1492.
Julius II, 1503.
Leo X, 1513.
Adrian VI, 1522.
Clement VII, 1523.
Paul III, 1534.
Julius III, 1550.
Paul IV, 1555.
Pius IV, 1559.

The Ottoman Empire.

Bajazet II, 1481.
Selim I, 1512.
Solyman I, 1520.

A. ZWINGLI

The Reformation in

§ 1. THE Reformation movement in Switzerland naturally divides itself into two parts: the one is con-

nected with the name of Zwingli and the town of Zurich, the other with the Frenchman Calvin and the town of Geneva. Zwingli was Luther's contemporary, Calvin belonged to a generation later; Zwingli's reformation was accomplished in the German-speaking East of Switzerland, Calvin's in the French-speaking West. There was little direct connexion between the two movements, and yet the one was a continuation of the other. The Reformed, as distinct from the Lutheran, Church began its existence under Zwingli at Zurich (though it had not then been given its name); it received its organization and its theological system from Calvin. Switzerland.

§ 2. Ulrich Zwingli was born in 1484, barely two months after Luther, in the village of Wildhaus in the canton of St. Gall. His father was the head man of the village, and his uncle Bartholomew the parish priest. Ulrich Zwingli, 1484–1531.

Zwingli's childhood and youth were very different from Luther's. The son of well-to-do-parents, he never felt the pinch of poverty, but lived a free and happy life, enjoying the advantages of an excellent education, without having to struggle to obtain it. The contrast is reflected in the characters and in the work of the two men. Zwingli was cheerful, practical, honest, and enthusiastic, but he never experienced the deep religious conflicts that played so great a part in the development of the Saxon reformer. His youth and education.

In 1487 Bartholomew Zwingli became Dean of Wesen, and, on leaving Wildhaus, took his young nephew with him. In the school at Wesen Ulrich made rapid progress, and a little later his uncle sent him to Basel and afterwards to Berne, where, under the famous humanist Wölflin, he acquired that love of classical literature which was always one of his most marked characteristics. After two years (1500–2) at the University of

Vienna, Zwingli returned to Basel, where he came under the influence of Thomas Wyttenbach, a humanist lecturer and a courageous theologian, who taught him evangelical truths and recommended him to study the Scriptures for himself.

Zwingli at Glarus and Einsiedeln, 1506–19.

§ 3. Zwingli became curate at Glarus, where he remained for ten years, enjoying ample leisure for reading and study; during this period he learnt Greek in order to be able to 'study the teaching of Christ from the original source', and, in the humanistic spirit of criticism, he began to test all doctrines by the true text of the Scriptures.

In 1512 and in 1515, as regimental chaplain, he accompanied the men of Glarus to the wars in Italy, and soon realized the demoralizing effect mercenary warfare was having upon his countrymen. With characteristic courage he denounced the evil custom which had made Switzerland the recruiting-ground for Emperor, King, and Pope, and he began to aim at a reform which would give the people a deeper sense of political responsibility and of the dignity of their nation. In 1516 Zwingli became people's priest at Einsiedeln, a famous resort for pilgrims. Here he declaimed against the superstition of pilgrimages and preached the greater efficacy of repentance and of an honest and true life.

Zwingli at Zurich, 1519–31.

§ 4. His fame as a preacher grew, and in 1519 he was transferred to the Great Minster in Zurich. There he at once denounced the sale of indulgences by Bernhardin Samson, the papal emissary, and, as the Pope was anxious not to quarrel with the Swiss, Samson was ordered not to trouble the citizens of Zurich. From the beginning, Zwingli's sermons in the Minster made a great impression. 'In simple Swiss language' he expounded the teachings of the New Testament, speak-

ing vigorously against superstitions and ecclesiastical and political abuses. His influence led the Council of Zurich to refuse in 1521 the Pope's request for a force of soldiers and to forbid mercenary service.

Zwingli's attacks on the principle of tithes, on fasting, and on the celibacy of the clergy roused a good deal of opposition, especially from the Bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Zurich was. The Great Council, however, supported the reformer, and in 1523 a Public Disputation to settle the religious controversies was held in the Town Hall of the city. Zwingli drew up sixty-seven theses to be discussed; this document forms his confession of faith. At the end of the meeting the burgomaster announced that the preacher was not convicted of heresy, and therefore was to continue his teaching.

Reformation adopted by Zurich, 1523-5.

Zurich was now definitely committed to the Reformation. The authority of the Bishop of Constance was overthrown, the use of the Latin language in prayers and in some of the services was discontinued, the incomes of convents and monasteries were applied for educational purposes, celibacy of the clergy was abolished, monks and nuns were freed from their vows, and, finally, the Mass was declared idolatrous. These changes were not carried out suddenly or arbitrarily. Four great public disputations were held, where the questions were discussed in the presence of hundreds of people.

Spread of the movement.

Meanwhile the reform movement had spread, and it found many supporters in the cities of Basel, Berne, and Schaffhausen, and in the districts of Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons. In 1528 Zwingli took part in a public disputation at Berne, after which the authorities of that city formally adopted the Reformation, and prepared to stand side by side with Zurich in the struggle which they now saw to be almost inevitable.

Opposition of the Forest Cantons.

§ 5. The Forest Cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden solidly opposed reform. These cantons, which had been the first to achieve their independence, enjoyed an influence in the Confederation quite out of proportion to their size and importance. It was one of Zwingli's aims to reorganize the Swiss Constitution on a basis of representative democracy, and thus to put an end to the unnatural supremacy of the small Forest Cantons and give to the larger ones the influence to which their wealth and power entitled them. Zwingli believed that in democratic states, where the Church and the State both consisted of the body of citizens, religion could not be separated from politics. His political schemes caused the cantons whose privileges he threatened more strenuously to oppose his religious changes; the followers of the reformer were bitterly persecuted, and at last both sides prepared for war. The two armies met, but did not come to an engagement. They were persuaded to lay down their arms, and they made terms in the First Peace of Kappel (June, 1529), when the Forest Cantons practically acknowledged defeat by agreeing to pay the expenses of the war. It was arranged that the religion of each canton should be decided by the majority of the inhabitants, but a clause about the right of free preaching in the Catholic States led to further dispute. The ill feeling was intensified by the determination of the Forest Cantons not to give up their political predominance. In October, 1531, they secretly collected a small army and rapidly advanced upon Zurich. There was little time for preparation: the troops, hastily called together, marched out to meet their enemies, but on October 11 they were defeated at the battle of Kappel. Zwingli, who had accom-

Battle of Kappel, 1531.

panied the little army as chaplain, was slain in the struggle. The monument which marks the place where he fell bears the inscription: '"They may kill the body but not the soul"—so spoke on this spot Ulrich Zwingli, who for truth and the freedom of the Christian Church died a hero's death, October 11, 1531.'

By the Second Peace of Kappel, which followed the battle, the Protestant states had to pay a war indemnity, and it was again settled that each canton was to be left free to manage its own religious affairs. In Switzerland, as in Germany, the Reformation failed to win for itself the whole country, and the settlement of the question was left to the authority of the individual states. There was, however, this great difference—in Germany that authority was in the hands of the princes, while in Switzerland it belonged to the people.

Zwingli and Luther.

§ 6. Although Zwingli's reform is contemporary with the greater Lutheran movement, the Swiss reformer himself always contended that he arrived at his conclusions quite independently of Luther, and this is probably true. The two men radically differed on many points, notably on the significance of the Sacrament. Zwingli looked upon this as merely a commemorative service, while Luther upheld the doctrine of the Real Presence, though with a somewhat different meaning from that accepted by the Catholic party.

Philip of Hesse tried to reconcile the two reformers by arranging a conference at Marburg in 1529, but the attempt was a failure, and Luther, who dreaded the effect of the union of religion and politics which marked Zwingli's work, was led afterwards to denounce the Switzer in bitter and violent language. Many of the towns of Southern Germany, however, adopted Zwinglianism, and it was not till after the death of the Swiss reformer that they joined the ranks of the Lutherans.

B. CALVIN

John Calvin, 1509–64.

§ 7. John Calvin was a Frenchman, born on July 11, 1509, at Noyon in Picardy. His father was a lawyer of repute and his mother a very beautiful woman who was noted for her earnest piety and her deep motherly affection. Calvin was educated at his father's expense with the sons of the noble family of Montmor. His father destined him for the Church, and at the age of twelve he was tonsured and presented with a chaplaincy, a part of the revenue of this benefice being used to pay for a curate to do the work and the rest given towards the boy's education.

In 1523 Calvin went to Paris with the sons of the Montmor family, and there studied at the Collège de la Marche under Maturin Cordier, an enthusiastic teacher of great breadth of mind, who fully recognized the exceptional ability of his pupil. Calvin always acknowledged his debt to this master. Afterwards at the Collège Montaigu his acute intellect was cultivated by a learned Spaniard, and he was trained in the art of formal disputation. The youth had an intense devotion to study, and in his work he invariably surpassed his fellow students; he also possessed a great power of inspiring affection and was generally surrounded by devoted friends.

Calvin at Orleans, Bourges, and Paris, 1528–33.

§ 8. In 1528 Calvin's father decided that his son should give up theology for law; so the young man, leaving the Collège Montaigu during the same year that the Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, entered it, departed for Orleans. His great ability and scholarship so impressed the authorities of the University there that, as a mark of their respect, they allowed him to take the degree

of doctor without fees. From Orleans he went to Bourges to study under a famous Italian jurist.

The death of his father in 1531 caused Calvin to give up the idea of entering the legal profession and to follow his own inclination by becoming a man of letters. In 1532 he published his first work, a commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*, produced at a time when Francis I was mercilessly persecuting his Protestant subjects. This work alone would have proved Calvin to be a scholar of great cultivation and learning, who, possessing sound judgement and the power of writing elegant Latin, had also a remarkable knowledge of the classical writers.

In 1533 Calvin was again in Paris; by this time his religious ideas had definitely changed. The study of the Greek Testament of Erasmus compelled him to contrast the ideal of Christ with the Church of his own day, and the teaching of Luther, with which he had become acquainted at Orleans, appealed to his reason and his imagination.

In November, 1533, his friend, Nicolas Cop, Rector of the University, delivered as his rectorial address an oration which Calvin had written. The discourse was a defence of evangelical truth, and contained many ideas borrowed from Erasmus and from Luther. Its delivery caused excessive wrath and indignation, and both Calvin and Cop were obliged to flee from Paris.

§ 9. After various wanderings the former took refuge in Basel (1535), a city particularly congenial to him because of its atmosphere of learning and of reform. Here, in 1536, he produced his great work, *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, first published in Latin and afterwards translated by its author into French. The book, which was dedicated to Francis I, was Calvin's confession of faith and a sketch of his ideas of religious

The Institutes, 1536.

reform. Though written early in its author's life and subsequently enlarged, it was never radically altered; it has probably exercised a greater influence in the world than any other book written by so young a man. By this work, which was the exposition of a religious system more logical and compact than that of any previous reformer, Calvin, almost unconsciously, became the leader of the opposition to Rome.

This great French reformer was a very different man from either Luther or Zwingli. His early social training had made him a cultivated and polished gentleman, and he was better fitted to rule the masses than to win their sympathy. He had great powers of organization and a naturally acute mind, which his legal training had rendered still more logical and precise. His body was frail, and his delicacy was increased by excessive study. The marvellous power which he exercised was due, as a magistrate of Geneva said after his death, 'to the majesty of his character.' He demanded much from his followers, but never more than he himself regularly performed. It is Ernest Renan, no prejudiced admirer, who says, 'He succeeded simply because he was the most Christian man of his generation.'

As soon as his book was finished Calvin left Basel and paid a visit to Italy, and afterwards went for the last time to France.

Geneva.

§ 10. On his return to Germany, the direct road being blocked because of the wars, he passed through Geneva. This Imperial city, important on account of its position commanding the valley of the Rhone, had been under a threefold jurisdiction; the Bishop was the sovereign, the Duke of Savoy possessed certain rights, and the burghers claimed the privilege of municipal self-government. The one great aim of the citizens was to prevent

their state from being annexed to Savoy; and as the Bishop acted with the Duke, opposition to one became opposition to both. In 1519 Geneva made an alliance with Freiburg and in 1526 with Berne. These two cantons helped the city in its struggle, and the influence of Berne led to the development of the reformation movement. Guillaume Farel, a French exile from Dauphiné, preached fiery and eloquent sermons in support of the new doctrines, and in 1534 the city declared itself in favour of reform. The conquest of the county of Vaud by the Bernese in their war against Savoy (1536), and the invasion of the Duke's dominions by the French, relieved Geneva from further danger, and she became an independent municipality. When Calvin arrived there in July, 1536, the city was in a state of disorder; the new religion had been adopted, but none of the preachers possessed the power of organizing the new Church. As Calvin himself afterwards said, 'There were preachings and tumults, breaking and burning of images, but I found no Reformation.'

Farel, hearing that the famous scholar and theologian was passing through Geneva, hastened to him, and, 'burning with an extraordinary zeal to advance the gospel, immediately strained every nerve to detain him'. Calvin, however, was unwilling to give up his desire for quiet and peaceful study, and refused to stay, whereupon Farel solemnly cursed him in the name of God, and by this action made such a deep impression upon Calvin that he put aside his own wishes and took up his residence in Geneva.

Calvin in Geneva, 1536–8.

He began his work as 'professor in sacred learning' by giving a series of lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul. He soon made a deep impression on the people, and it was not long before he was a dictator or pope in the city

rather than a mere teacher or preacher. He at once realized that organization and education were needed, and he set to work to supply both. He drew up a scheme of reform which was submitted to the Council (January, 1537), and was received with approval.

Calvin's reforms.

His ideal was to restore the conditions that had existed in the Christian Church during the first three centuries: he believed that discipline was 'the nerve' of the Church in those early days and that it was equally needed in his own time. A confession of faith was drawn up and the citizens were summoned to swear to maintain it. A Catechism was composed as the basis of religious instruction in school and home, and every effort was made to cause the people to understand what was involved in the religion they professed. Worship was carefully regulated and made as simple as possible, everything being abolished that might distract the mind from spiritual aspirations; Psalm-books were prepared, and Psalm-singing was cultivated. The Lord's Supper was celebrated monthly, and only those who were morally worthy were allowed to communicate. So severe was the discipline that men were excommunicated for insulting the preacher or mocking at his sermons.

Life outside the Church was as carefully regulated as that within; gambling, dancing, and all worldly amusements were regarded and punished as sins, and for some sins the penalty was death. The secular power was called upon to enforce with civil penalties the censures of the Church.

Banishment from Geneva, 1538–41.

§ 12. Such drastic changes could not be carried through without opposition, and in April, 1538, Calvin and Farel were banished from the city. The former now hoped to be able to indulge his desire for a quiet student life, but he was called on to minister to the French refugees in

Strasburg. He was welcomed by the chief German divines whom he met at several theological conferences, and he strengthened the feeling of unity among Protestants by putting his signature to the Augsburg Confession (p. 146). Meanwhile, things were going badly in Geneva; the life had gone out of the place, morals were deteriorating, and the Roman Catholics were trying to recover their influence. In 1539 Calvin was invited to return, but he could not bear the thought of living once more in the turbulent city. He replied that in Strasburg he had taken up work which he felt he could not lightly lay aside, and he was not sure that he was fit to take charge of the Church in Geneva. So genuine, however, was the desire for his return that every means was taken to persuade him, and at last, his obedience to the call of duty overcoming his inclinations, in September, 1541, he once more entered the city.

Calvin again in Geneva, 1541-64.

§ 13. A constitution was now given to the Church; an ecclesiastical consistory was formed, consisting of the pastors and twelve elders chosen from the Councils of the town on the nomination of the ministers. The elders were to be elected annually and were to be 'men of good and honourable conduct, blameless and free from suspicion, animated by the fear of God, and endowed with spiritual wisdom'. The consistory met every week and was the supreme tribunal of morals; its members were also expected privately to observe the conduct of the people, to listen to complaints, and to rebuke offenders.

From this time the discipline suggested during Calvin's first residence in Geneva was systematically enforced. This naturally led to opposition, and a party called the 'Libertines' was formed, whose object was to relax the severity of the ecclesiastical rules and bring the Church under the control of the State; they obtained many

followers, but their influence was small compared with that of the reformer.

Calvin attached the greatest importance to a thorough system of education; he founded schools of every grade, bringing to them teachers from many lands and various universities, and Geneva became a centre of learning. It was, too, a refuge for persecuted Protestants of every nation, many of whom afterwards returned with renewed courage and determination to their native lands. A Venetian writer of the time described the city as 'the mine whence came the ore of heresy'. Geneva is known to have sent 161 pastors into France during the years 1555–66, and probably there were many more whose names were unrecorded. Calvin advised the counsellors of Edward VI in England; and from Geneva John Knox went forth to organize the Church in Scotland. Although the city was a refuge for persecuted Protestants, however, there was no toleration there for people of different opinions. In 1547 Gruet was executed for unbelief, and in 1553 the Spaniard Servetus was burnt for heresy.

Calvinism. In doctrine Calvin emphasized the absolute foreknowledge and determining power of God and the insignificance of the action of man. He believed that salvation is due solely to God's grace, and that as the Creator knows all things He knows from a man's birth whether he will be saved or not. This is the famous doctrine of predestination, one of the distinguishing marks of Calvinistic theology.

Calvin expected too much from human nature, and his rule was more tyrannical than that of any 'infallible' Pope or Church, but he performed a great work for the Protestant cause at a time when the Counter-Reformation in the Catholic Church made a militant and organized Protestantism necessary for its continued existence.

Calvinism has produced a type of man similar to the founder himself, men like John Knox, Theodore Beza, William of Nassau, and Oliver Cromwell, 'of remarkable strength of will, extraordinary devotion, and indomitable energy.'

Calvin died in 1564, as poor as a mendicant monk in spite of the remarkable power he had exercised for more than twenty years. He was succeeded in Geneva by his pupil, Theodore Beza.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Discuss the effect of the constitution of Switzerland upon the character and work of Zwingli.

2. Describe the working of the theocratic state established by Calvin in Geneva.

3. 'Calvin is the only one of the great Reformers who can justly be called international.' Give some account of the extent of Calvin's influence, direct and indirect, outside of Geneva.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

§ 1. Character of the English Reformation.—Conditions favourable to reform.—Henry's opposition to reform. § 2. The Divorce Question, 1527. § 3. The Reformation Parliament, 1529-36. § 4. Statute of Six Articles, 1539.—Fall of Cromwell, 1540. § 5. First period of Edward VI's Reformation, 1547-9. § 6. Second period of Edward VI's Reformation, 1549-53. § 7. Reaction of Mary's reign, 1553-8. § 8. Religious settlement of Elizabeth's reign.—Act of Supremacy, 1559.—Act of Uniformity, 1559.—Thirty-nine Articles, 1563. § 9. Elizabeth's settlement accepted by James I, 1604.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

As in Chapter XI

A. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

Character of the English Reformation.

§ 1. THE Reformation in England differs very considerably in character and history from the movements in Germany and Switzerland. In this country the changes were first political and afterwards religious; they were carried out by the will of the monarch and accepted by the nation; there is, consequently, no great hero of faith like Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin, whose name we always associate with the movement. The continuity of the English Church was never broken. First, the royal supremacy was substituted for that of the Pope; afterwards, the Bible was put into the hands of the people, and English gradually

took the place of Latin in the services; still later, some of the doctrines accepted by the mediaeval Church were discarded, and a Confession of Faith was drawn up, based on the teaching of the Bible and of the early Christian Fathers.

Conditions favourable to reform.

In spite of the political character of the early stages of the English Reformation, however, there was much that was preparing the way for a national religious movement. The English had always especially resented the authority of the Pope in their land, and had often felt and expressed dissatisfaction with the clergy. In the fourteenth century Wiclif had taught many of the principles which Luther afterwards upheld; he had had many followers, and there was still, more than a century and a quarter after his death, 'a secret leaven of Wiclif's influence working beneath the surface.' The New Learning was very popular in England, and the leading humanists, the Oxford reformers, though always anxious to preserve the unity of the Church, strove hard for the removal of abuses and preached against superstition, urging a reformation of conduct and the study of the Bible. After 1520 many people in England read the writings of Luther, and both Universities were said to be infected with Lutheranism.

Henry's opposition to reform.

During this time, however, the King was definitely opposed to the Reformation. In 1521 he received from the Pope the title of 'Defender of the Faith', in recognition of the service he had rendered to the Church by writing a book against Luther. William Tyndale, a favourite pupil of Colet, was obliged to leave England, to accomplish his desire to give his countrymen the Scriptures in their own tongue.[1]

[1] Tyndale finished his translation of the New Testament at Worms in 1526, and a very large number of copies was circulated

Henry's chief minister, Cardinal Wolsey, carried out some reforms in ecclesiastical discipline, and suppressed some of the most useless of the religious houses, applying their revenues to educational purposes. The object of these measures, however, was the improvement of the position of the Church rather than religious reform.

The Divorce Question, 1527.

§ 2. In the early part of his reign Henry emphasized the authority of the Pope, because it was Julius II's Bull of Dispensation that had legalized his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. When he wished to get rid of his wife because he had no male heir and because he wanted to marry the beautiful Anne Boleyn, he appealed to the Papal authority to declare his marriage with Catherine invalid (1527). Pope Clement VII was in a difficult position. He was naturally unwilling to reverse a former Papal decision, he was also anxious not to displease Catherine's nephew, Charles V, in whose power he then was, but at the same time he did not wish to break with Henry and Wolsey. He therefore followed a temporizing policy; a legatine court under Wolsey and Campeggio was set up in England, but, before any decision was arrived at, the case was called to Rome (1529). Henry soon realized that he would never get his divorce from the Pope, and he determined to take the matter into his own hands. Wolsey's failure to carry out his master's wishes was immediately succeeded by his downfall.

The Reformation Parliament, 1529-36.

§ 3. The same year Henry called a Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1536; it is known as the Reformation Parliament, because it carried through a series of

in England. In 1530 his version was publicly condemned and copies were burnt in St. Paul's Churchyard. Meanwhile he began to translate the Old Testament and completed some portions of it. After much persecution, Tyndale was burnt for heresy in Flanders in 1536.

measures depriving the Pope of all authority in England. In the first session various clerical privileges were attacked, and Bills were passed limiting the fees to be paid for ecclesiastical services, and prohibiting the clergy from engaging in secular business, from holding too many benefices, and from living away from their parishes. In 1531, by means of threats, the clergy were forced to acknowledge the King 'as Supreme Head of the Church and the Clergy', but they added the words, 'as far as the law of Christ will allow.' In 1532, by a resolution of Convocation, called 'The Submission of the Clergy', no new canons were to be enacted without the King's approval, and all existing ones were to be submitted to a committee of revision and everything prejudicial to the royal authority expunged. In the same year Parliament passed an Act forbidding the payment of 'annates'. In 1533 all appeals from the Archbishop's Court to Rome were prohibited.

Meanwhile, on the death of Archbishop Warham in 1532, Thomas Cranmer had been nominated to the See of Canterbury and his appointment ratified by the Pope. Cranmer was a learned Churchman who thoroughly believed in the royal supremacy, and was influenced by Lutheran teachings. The Act of Appeals having been passed, the new Archbishop held an ecclesiastical court at Dunstable to try the question of the Divorce (May, 1533), and gave sentence that the marriage with Catherine was without force from the beginning. Soon after, the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn (which had already taken place in January, 1533) was declared valid.

The separation of the English Church from Rome was completed by the Act of Supremacy (1534), in

which the King was declared Supreme Head of the Church of England, with power to make ecclesiastical visitations and to redress ecclesiastical abuses. 'Annates' and tithes were annexed to the Crown, and to deny the royal supremacy was declared an act of treason. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher had already been imprisoned for refusing to take the oath declaring Catherine's daughter Mary illegitimate and the children of Anne Boleyn the rightful heirs to the throne; they were now executed (1535) for denying the royal supremacy.

Thomas Cromwell, who had entered the King's service on the fall of his master, Wolsey, was made Vicar-General in 1535. In this capacity he issued a commission for the visitation of the monasteries, and in 1536 Parliament passed an Act for the suppression of the religious houses whose incomes did not exceed £200 a year, and vested their property in the King and his heirs. In Yorkshire the dissolution of the smaller monasteries was, to a great extent, responsible for a rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. But the King was not to be deterred from his purpose. The larger houses were suppressed in 1539.

In 1536 Henry gave the people permission to read the Scriptures in their own tongue, and ordered a copy of the English Bible to be placed in every church.

Statute of Six Articles, 1539.

§ 4. At this time there was a distinct advance towards Protestantism in England. Cromwell was anxious to bring about a political alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, and an attempt was made to draw up articles of faith which should be in agreement with the Augsburg Confession. Henry, however, was still Catholic in doctrine, and, fearing that the changes were going too far, in 1539 he caused the 'Six Articles'

to be passed, whereby belief in transubstantiation, auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, private masses, vows of chastity, and in the sufficiency of communion in one kind were enforced with heavy penalties. By the Act of Supremacy Papists, and by the Statute of Six Articles Protestants, were liable to capital punishment.

Cromwell, meanwhile, had arranged a marriage for the King with Anne of Cleves, the daughter of one of the leading Lutheran princes. The marriage took place, but Henry did not like his bride, so, on a flimsy excuse, he divorced her (1540). Cromwell had forced on his master his policy of a Protestant alliance, and now the King allowed him to fall a victim to his unpopularity. He was charged with treason and executed, 1540.

Fall of Cromwell, 1540.

During the remaining years of Henry's reign no changes in doctrine were made, but the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the 'Ave Maria' were ordered to be used in English (1544).

§ 5. On the accession of Edward VI in 1547, the party in favour of the Reformation succeeded in getting a majority in the Council of Regency, and the office of Protector was assumed by the King's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, who had strong Lutheran tendencies. In the first year of the reign a commission was sent round the land to conduct a royal visitation: images, pictures, and painted windows were removed from the churches, and the Gospels and Epistles were ordered to be read in English. The Six Articles of 1539 and all statutes against heretics were repealed; it was ordained by Act of Parliament that the Sacrament should be administered in two kinds, and the marriage of the clergy was permitted.

First period of Edward VI's Reformation, 1547-9.

Communications were carried on with the Protestant Churches in Germany and Switzerland, and many German theologians, who disliked the attempt to enforce the 'Interim' of 1548 in Germany, came over 'to a country where the hope of reformation stood so high'. Some of these men became Cranmer's friends and advisers, while Calvin wrote long letters of advice to the Protector Somerset and afterwards to the King.

In 1549 the English Book of Common Prayer was published, and its use enforced by the first Act of Uniformity. This First Prayer Book of Edward VI, mainly the work of Cranmer, does not show many traces of foreign influence; it was based on the service books previously in use in the English churches, and was eminently conservative; its innovation was that it was written entirely in the English language, and the whole service could, therefore, be understood by the worshippers.

The Act of Uniformity of 1549 ends the first stage of the Reformation in Edward VI's reign. So far, Cranmer, under whose guidance the work had been carried on, followed the plan of retaining as much of existing Church practice and doctrine as did not seem contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures and of the early Christian Church. The changes were accepted peaceably by the mass of the people; some, however, especially in the west, objected to all innovations, while a few, led by Hooper and Ridley, thought that reform had not gone far enough.

Second period of Edward VI's Reformation, 1549-53.

§ 6. The second stage in the Reformation under Edward VI was accomplished after the fall of Somerset. The Protector's successor, Northumberland, for his own ends, desired to hurry on the movement, and the influence of the German theologians, many of them

affected by Calvinistic ideas, became greater. The Second Prayer Book of the reign, the use of which was enforced by a Second Act of Uniformity (1552), reflects this distinctively Protestant influence, and differs considerably from the First Prayer Book, especially in the Communion Service. At this time, too, church ritual was very much reduced, and fines were inflicted for absence from church on Sundays and holy days. In 1553 the doctrines of the Church were stated in the Forty-two Articles, to which all clergy and schoolmasters had to subscribe. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI and the Forty-two Articles 'mark the highest flood-tide of Protestant feeling in England'.

Reaction of Mary's reign, 1553-8.

§ 7. On Edward's death, Northumberland tried to obtain the crown for his Protestant daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, but the Catholic Mary was received with joy by the English people. The radical changes of the last part of Edward's reign had been unpopular, and the majority of the nation were quite ready to acquiesce in the revival of some of the ancient ecclesiastical practices. Mary, however, would not be content with half measures; she was a conscientious Catholic, whose highest hope was to restore her country to full obedience to the Pope and to cleanse it of heresy. Her marriage with Philip of Spain (1554) only intensified this desire. In 1553 the religious statutes of Edward VI's reign were repealed and the old faith was re-established. The next year, however, Parliament declined to revive the Six Articles of 1539 and the laws against heretics. Nevertheless a little later Cardinal Pole was allowed to return to England as Papal Legate, and before the end of the year he solemnly and formally received the kingdom 'again into the unity of our Mother the Holy Church'.

Parliament now repealed all the anti-papal legislation and revived the old Acts against heresy.

There was one point, however, on which Mary was obliged to give way. Some 40,000 families had shared in the plunder of Church property in Henry VIII and Edward VI's reigns, and they were unwilling to restore these lands; the possession of this secularized Church property was, therefore, expressly confirmed to its holders.

The last three years of Mary's reign are marked by the policy of severe persecution which has given to her the title of Bloody Mary. From the early part of 1554 many of the Reformed bishops and divines had been imprisoned; in 1555 a commission was issued to Bishop Gardiner and others to try heretics. Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer were amongst those who were burnt for heresy in 1555, and the next year Cranmer also suffered at Oxford. The effect of this severity was to rouse indignation against the Queen, and sympathy with the sufferers, in the minds of all classes of Englishmen. The fire of persecution purified English Protestantism, and it became stronger and nobler than it had been before. 'It was a peasant woman of the time who anticipated the verdict of history by saying, "The burning of the Archbishop hath turned the Pope out of the land for ever and ever."'

Mary's alliance with Spain in the war against France in 1557, and the consequent loss of Calais, roused the patriotic feelings of the English, and identified Protestantism with national honour in their minds. In 1558, at the height of her unpopularity, the Queen died, and was succeeded by the Protestant Elizabeth.

§ 8. The statesmanship of this sovereign caused her to adopt a moderate ecclesiastical policy. She herself

probably had no strong religious feelings, though the ritual of the ancient Church appealed to her. She had, however, a passionate love of her country and her people, and wished to do what was best for their interests; she realized that the general feeling was in favour of Protestantism, but she hoped to be able to arrange matters in such a way that the Catholics in the land could remain her loyal subjects. Consequently, she moved cautiously. Religious settlement of Elizabeth's reign.

In 1559 an Act of Supremacy was passed, but in it, as the title Supreme Head of the Church was obnoxious to both Catholics and Calvinists, Elizabeth was declared to be 'supreme governor of the realm in things spiritual as well as temporal'. This was merely a tactful alteration, involving no diminution of the sovereign's authority. Act of Supremacy, 1559.

In the same year was passed an Act of Uniformity enforcing the use of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI's reign as recently revised. The revision consisted in removing a few terms which were particularly distasteful to the English Catholics, and in making one or two alterations where it was felt desirable, for the sake of agreement, that people should be able to read their own views into the words of the book. The mass of the people willingly accepted this settlement. Elizabeth wished for no persecution; she made the service of the Church as broad as she could and required that all her subjects should attend it. There was at first no hard and fast definition of doctrine, and it was not till 1563 that the Forty-two Articles were revised and reduced to thirty-nine, while not until eight years later did an Act of Parliament require every clergyman to subscribe to them. Act of Uniformity, 1559. The Thirty-nine Articles, 1563.

In spite of all Elizabeth's efforts the Roman Catholics made themselves traitors by plotting against the Crown,

and foreign affairs forced the Queen into the position of champion of Protestantism. The issue of the Papal Bull of Excommunication in 1570, and the encouragement by Spain of Catholic plots on behalf of the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots placed Elizabeth in a position of open hostility to the defenders of the Roman Church. From the date of the publication of the Papal Bull the treatment of Romanists in England became more severe.

Another party also disliked Elizabeth's *via media* in religious policy; it was led by men who had been exiles in Mary's reign and while on the Continent had adopted Calvinistic ideas. Feeling that England had not gone far enough on the path of reform, these now asked for a 'purer' form of worship. The party increased in strength during the reign, and, notwithstanding efforts made to suppress it, 'Puritanism' spread everywhere.

Elizabeth's settlement accepted by James I, 1604.

§ 9. When James I became King (1603), each of the three religious parties hoped he would favour them, but at the Hampton Court Conference (1604) he made it quite clear that nothing would induce him to ally with a party similar to the Presbyterians, whom he had learned, from his experiences in Scotland, to detest; neither was he inclined to Romanism. He therefore supported the Church settlement of Elizabeth's reign, but he had not the Queen's tact and wisdom in carrying out his policy.

In England, at the end of our period (1610), two religious parties had been formed which were to come into open conflict before the middle of the century, but these parties were not, as in Germany, the Catholic and the Protestant—they were both within the National Church; one was content with the changes that had been made, the other was anxious for more radical

reforms. In England it was not the Reformation that led to civil war, for in this land the reform movement was a national one.

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B. THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Condition of Scotland in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

§ 10. 'If civilization means the art of living together in peace, Scotland was almost four hundred years behind the rest of Western Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century.'[1]

The country was still essentially mediaeval; she had not begun to enter upon the stage of modern history. The King's authority was very little established, the nobles were disorderly and poor, the Church was wealthy, and the clergy were numerous and lazy.

Yet the Scots possessed an aptitude for letters, and the state of education was more advanced than might

[1] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, p. 274.

have been expected. Wiclif's teachings had reached the northern kingdom, and intercourse with the Continent had brought the people into connexion with the Hussite movement. Some few heretics had been burnt. Soon after 1520 the Lutheran influence began to be felt: books and tracts were smuggled into the East Coast ports, Scottish travellers abroad became influenced by the new teaching, and the ideas of the German reformers spread. Laws were passed forbidding the introduction of Luther's books and the circulation of his opinions. In 1528 Patrick Hamilton, young and well-born, was burnt for heresy. He had become infected with Lutheran views at the University of Paris, and had afterwards gone to Marburg and perhaps to Wittenberg. On his return to Scotland he preached against the corruptions of the Roman Church and in favour of the new opinions; he was enticed to St. Andrews, and there died. There were other teachers and other martyrs in the succeeding years, and the new faith spread rapidly, but for some time there was no general revolt.

English and French influences in Scotland.

§ 11. At the end of the fifteenth century, the English King, Henry VII, had hoped to destroy the long-lived alliance between Scotland and France and foster friendship with England by the marriage of his daughter Margaret with King James IV. For the success of England in European politics it was essential that she should not have a hostile Scotland behind her. James V, however, would not be dictated to by his uncle, Henry VIII; he renewed the alliance with France. He was defeated in the battle of Solway Moss (1542), and he died one week after the birth of his daughter and heiress, Mary.

His widow, Mary of Guise, was naturally in favour

of a French alliance, but many of the nobles were ready to listen to the proposals of Henry VIII. They were jealous of the clergy, they accepted the English King's pay, and were not averse to following his example in religious matters. The two parties struggled for the office of Regent; the English party was led by the Earl of Arran, the next to Mary in hereditary succession, and the French by Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. At first the former had their way: Arran was declared Regent, Beaton was imprisoned, a treaty was made for the future marriage of the little Queen with Henry's son Edward, and the Acts against heresy were modified. This was soon changed, however. Arran was feeble; he was persuaded to reconcile himself with Beaton and dismiss his Reformed preachers, and the Cardinal was restored to St. Andrews. Moreover, Henry VIII's masterful policy was unpopular; the Scots refused to be bullied, the old league with France was renewed, and, after the English harrying of the Borders and burning of Edinburgh (1544), patriotism and Catholicism became closely allied. A renewed attempt, after the death of Henry (1547), to bring about by force the marriage between Mary and Edward led to the former's being shipped to France to be educated by her mother's family, the Guises. A few years later, Arran was persuaded to accept the duchy of Châtelherault, his son (who then became Earl of Arran) was made commander of the French King's Scots guard, and Mary of Guise took the place of Regent in Scotland. So far the French party had won. In the meantime, however, the Reformation movement was gaining in strength among the people.

Scottish reformers.

§ 12. In 1543 George Wishart, a Scot who had been in England, Germany, and Switzerland, returned to his

native land to preach the gospel. He obtained great influence in the country, but, in 1546, Beaton's party seized him and he was burnt for heresy. Less than three months later, a band of assassins broke into the Castle of St. Andrews and slew Beaton (May, 1546); these men held the castle and the town, which became a refuge for all men whose lives were threatened by the Government.

John Knox, 1515–72.

The constant companion and most beloved follower of George Wishart during the last months of his life was John Knox, and this man was now persuaded, much against his will, to preach to the refugees in St. Andrews. He was thirty-two years of age, having been born in 1515[1]; he was in priest's orders in 1540, acted as a tutor in 1545, and was with Wishart from the December of that year to the end of the following month. Very little more is known of his life before 1546.

Meanwhile the Regent had unsuccessfully besieged St. Andrews, and not until after the arrival of a French fleet did the besieged surrender (July, 1547); it was agreed that they should all be shipped to France and there set free. The agreement was not kept, however, and John Knox and his companions became galley-slaves; for nineteen months they endured this torture before the intervention of the English Government caused them to be released (1549). Knox spent the next four or five years in England, and acted as minister in Berwick, Newcastle, and London. In 1552 he was offered the Bishopric of Rochester, but this he declined. Being obliged to leave England on the accession of Mary, he visited Geneva, Zurich, and Frankfurt, and eventually settled down at Geneva,

[1] That year is established as the date of Knox's birth by Dr. Hay Fleming in the *Bookman* for Sept., 1905, p. 193.

learning from Calvin and ministering to the refugees there. It was during this time that he became familiar with the leading Protestants in France and Switzerland, and learnt enough of continental politics to realize the importance of the religious policy of England and Scotland to the cause of Protestantism in Europe. Between September, 1555, and July, 1556, he paid a visit to his native land, making preaching tours and organizing his followers. Powerful nobles and politicians listened to him, but his life was not safe in Scotland, and after ten months he returned to Geneva.

Organization of Protestantism in Scotland, 1557–8.

§ 13. At the end of 1557 the first definite organization of Protestantism took place, and the first Covenant, the 'Band of Union', was signed. The 'Congregation of Jesus Christ', as the confederates were called, now stood in a position of open hostility to the Catholic Church, and promised to assist one another in the work of reformation. Letters were sent to Knox and to Calvin urging the return of the former.

In 1558 'churches' of the new order were constituted; elders were elected, to whom all the brethren promised obedience, and in the absence of recognized ministers the office was filled by laymen. The 'Lords of the Congregation', as the leaders were called, now demanded from the Regent the right to worship publicly according to the Reformed fashion, and this was conceded in all places except Edinburgh and Leith. A further request for the suspension of the law permitting the clergy to take action against heretics was not granted, the Regent giving 'amyable lookis and good words in aboundance' but keeping the petition 'close in hir pocket'.

Meanwhile Knox had left Geneva in 1557, but on arriving at Dieppe had found letters awaiting him which warned him that it would be better for him not yet to

return. While lingering there, exasperated at the delay, he wrote the treatise *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Regimen of Women.* It was the work of Mary Tudor in England and Mary of Guise in Scotland that called forth this violent pamphlet; by the time it became well known the former Queen was dead, and Elizabeth, on whose policy the success of the cause of the Scottish reformer largely depended, reigned in her stead, and naturally believed that the *Blast* was meant for herself. Nothing afterwards hampered Knox more than the effect of this treatise, and he himself in writing to a friend said, 'My rude vehemencie and inconsidered affirmations, which may rather appear to procead from coler then of zeal and reason, I do not excuse.' The reformer returned to Scotland in the summer of 1559.

Importance of Scottish Reformation.

§ 14. Already in 1558 Mary Stewart had married the Dauphin; on the death of Henry II in July of the following year, the young couple became King and Queen of France. 'Suddenly all far-sighted eyes had turned to a backward country. Eyes at Rome and eyes at Geneva were fixed on Scotland, and, the further they could peer into the future, the more eager must have been their gaze. And still we look intently at that wonderful scene, the Scotland of Mary Stewart and John Knox. . . . The fate of the Protestant Reformation was being decided, and the creed of unborn millions in undiscovered lands was being determined. . . . Nor is the religious the only interest. A new nation, a British nation, was in the making.'[1]

Whether the Reformation was to succeed or to be crushed, depended to a great extent upon its success or failure in Scotland, for Elizabeth had only just become

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii, p. 550.

Queen of England, and most of her Roman Catholic subjects looked to Mary Stewart as their rightful sovereign. England had not yet recovered from the disasters of the former reign, and it was very doubtful whether she would be strong enough to stand alone, without the aid of Catholic Spain, against France and Scotland united under the same sovereigns. The suppression of the Reformed religion in England would mean an enormous increase of strength to the forces of reaction, and probably the crushing of the Reformation in Germany and the Low Countries also.

Elizabeth and the 'Lords of the Congregation', 1559–60.

§ 15. In 1559 Elizabeth was in a difficult position with regard to Scotland. The 'Lords of the Congregation', in arms against the Regent and her French forces, appealed to her for help. She had strong views on the subject of aiding rebels against the authority of a ruler, and yet the Protestant cause could not be allowed to be crushed in the northern kingdom. As usual, therefore, the English Queen temporized. At last, in 1560, by the Treaty of Berwick, she agreed to send assistance; English troops and English ships went to drive the French out of Scotland.

The Regent held Edinburgh Castle (where she died on June 11) and a French force was in Leith. The English, however, took both these strongholds, and the French lost their hold on Scotland. By the Treaty of Edinburgh (July 6, 1560) it was agreed that no foreigners should be employed there without the consent of the Estates. Mary also was to drop her claim to the English crown, and the Estates were to make a religious settlement. After this, the English army went home, wisely leaving the Scots to manage their own affairs.

§ 16. A Parliament met in Edinburgh in August: the

Establishment of the Reformation, 1560.

Pope's authority was rejected and the Mass was abolished; a Confession of Faith, drawn up by Knox and other preachers under the Calvinistic influences, was ratified. The Reformed Church was constituted on the lines recommended in *The First Book of Discipline*, written by the authors of the Confession. The government of the Church was provided for by kirk-sessions, synods, and national assemblies; the office-bearers were ministers, teachers, elders, deacons, superintendents, and readers. The form of government was obviously inspired by the ideas of Calvin. As in Geneva, too, great importance was attached to education, and many schools were founded. Mary and Francis refused to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh or the Acts of the Parliament. In spite of this, however, the Reformation had taken too great a hold on Scotland not to be permanent. 'Elizabeth, the deliverer of Scotland, had built an external buttress for her English Church. If now and then Knox "gave her cross and candles a wipe", he none the less prayed for her and for everlasting friendship. They did not love each other; but she had saved his Scottish Reformation and he had saved her Anglican Settlement'.[1]

Mary, Queen of Scots, and John Knox.

§ 17. In December, 1560, Francis II died, and in the following August Mary returned to her native land. During the next seven years the Reformation in Scotland had many vicissitudes. At first Mary was conciliatory; she promised to maintain the religious settlement made by the Estates, but insisted on having Mass for her own household.

Many believed that if she were tenderly guided she might be led to adopt the Reformation. Knox alone realized the hopelessness of expecting this from the

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii, p. 580.

niece of the Guises, brought up under the special influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine.[1]

'Then began the struggle between the fascinating Queen, Mary Stewart, one of the fairest flowers of the French Renaissance, and the unbending preacher, trained in the sternest school of the Reformation movement—a struggle which was so picturesque, in which the two opponents had such strongly marked individuality, and in which the accessories were so dramatic, that the spectator insensibly becomes absorbed in the personal side of the conflict, and is tempted to forget that it was part of a Revolution which was convulsing the whole of middle and western Europe.'[2] The struggle ended in the victory of Protestantism. Mary, led away by her affections, came into open conflict with her subjects, and, after being defeated, imprisoned, and deposed by them, fled to her cousin and rival, Elizabeth of England (1568).

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Contrast the Reformation in England under Henry VIII with that of Edward VI's reign.
2. Describe Elizabeth's religious policy. How far was it successful?
3. Explain the importance of the Scottish Reformation question during the years 1559 and 1560.

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[1] See Genealogical Table V.
[2] Lindsay's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, pp. 312-13.

CHAPTER XIV

THE REFORMATION IN NORTHERN EUROPE

§ 1. The Scandinavian kingdoms. § 2. Christian II, 1513-23. —Christian and Sweden, 1518–20.—The Massacre of Stockholm, 1520.—Christian's rule in Denmark. § 3. Frederick I of Denmark, 1523-33. § 4. Christian III of Denmark, 1534-59. —Establishment of the Reformation, 1536–7. § 5. War of Independence in Sweden, 1520–3. § 6. Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, 1523–60. § 7. Establishment of the Reformation, 1527. § 8. The Swedish Church after 1560.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

As in Chapter XI.

The Scandinavian kingdoms.

§ 1. THE union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms in 1397 had been a purely dynastic one, and was never popular. The crown was elective, and every election was an opportunity for weakening the prerogative of the sovereign. The King resided in Denmark, where his power was not great; in Sweden his authority was merely nominal, and in Norway it was little more. Almost all the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of the nobles and the higher clergy, who possessed private jurisdiction, and, being privileged classes, were not liable to taxation. The Reformation in the Scandinavian kingdoms rose out of these political conditions; it was the work of the sovereign, and the people had to be educated up to the new religious principles.

Christian II, 1513–23.

§ 2. In 1513 Christian II came to the throne. He was a nephew of Frederick the Wise of Saxony, and in

1515 he married a sister of the future Emperor Charles V. He was a man of considerable natural ability and much learning, but he was passionate and headstrong, cruel and treacherous. He conceived wise plans, but he ruined everything by his method of carrying them out. He determined to establish the authority of the sovereign and relieve the oppression of the common people by destroying the power of the nobles and of the higher clergy.

Christian and Sweden, 1518–20.

The regency in Sweden at this time was in the hands of a noble family, called the Stures, who ruled the country well, but in the interests of the commonalty rather than the nobility. Christian took advantage of the hostility of some of the nobles to the Regent to conquer the Swedes. He visited the country in 1518, but had little success and soon departed, taking with him a number of hostages, among them Gustaf Eriksson, the future King. Christian returned to Sweden, however, in the following year with a large army of mercenaries. In January, 1520, he defeated the Swedes in a battle fought on the ice on Lake Åsunden, when Sten Sture was mortally wounded. Before the end of the year the nobles capitulated and Christian entered Stockholm, having promised immunity from punishment to all who had opposed him.

The Massacre of Stockholm, 1520.

A few days after his coronation, on November 4, 1520, he performed a deed of the blackest treachery. When the people were gathered together in the capital, he caused all the leading nobles, clergy, and citizens to be savagely executed. The deed is known as the 'Stockholm Bath of Blood'. Christian hoped he would win the gratitude of the masses by ridding them of their noble oppressors, but he was very much mistaken. The deed roused the first true feeling of nationality in Sweden,

and, as it has been said, the Union of Calmar was drowned for ever in the Bath of Blood. Fierce revolts immediately broke out everywhere, and soon Sweden became independent.

Christian's rule in Denmark.

In Denmark Christian was a wise and enlightened ruler: he did much to encourage learning, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; he tried to raise the middle and lower classes, and destroyed some of the privileges of the nobles and clergy. He also had preachers trained by Luther sent from Saxony, but these were unable to address the people without interpreters and did not gain much influence.

There was a great deal that was beneficial in Christian's reforms, but they were not popular, and after the black deed in Sweden every one distrusted him. In 1523 a general revolt drove him from Denmark, and the crown was given to his uncle, Frederick of Schleswig and Holstein. During his exile Christian returned to the orthodox faith, and in 1531 he landed in Norway and endeavoured to persuade the Roman Catholic peasants to rise in his favour. He was taken prisoner in 1532 and remained in prison till his death in 1559.

Frederick I of Denmark, 1523–33.

§ 3. Frederick I (1523–33) was prudent and considerate. Although himself inclined to Lutheranism, he was obliged to take an oath not to introduce the Reformation or attack the Church. At the same time, he felt he was not called upon to oppose the progress of reform; native preachers spread the new doctrines through the land, Lutheranism rapidly gained ground, and many nobles joined the cause. At last, after much conflict between the bishops and the Protestants, a Diet was summoned at Odensee (1527) for the settlement of the question. Formal toleration was now granted to Lutheranism.

§ 4. On the death of Frederick I the Protestants chose his elder son, Christian, and the Catholics the younger brother, John. The civil war that followed ended in the victory of Christian (1534–59), who had been assisted by the Swedes. The new King was a strong Lutheran, and he was determined thoroughly to establish the Reformation. In 1536, at a National Assembly held in Copenhagen, the bishops were deprived of all share in the government and their possessions were forfeited to the Crown. Christian sent to Luther for some one to organize the Reform in Denmark: a new Danish ministry was constituted (1537), a liturgy was compiled, and a translation of the Bible begun. All other changes were made gradually; much of the old ritual was retained, and the Reformation was carried out on strictly conservative lines. The Danish Kings now succeeded also in establishing a strong national monarchy in the land. By royal authority the Reformation was introduced also into Norway and Iceland.

Christian III of Denmark, 1534–59.

The Reformation established, 1536–7.

§ 5. Meanwhile much had happened in Sweden, where the War of Independence, caused by the massacre at Stockholm, was directed and controlled by one man, Gustaf Eriksson, known as Gustavus Vasa from the sheaf (*vasa*) which was the badge of his family. Carried as a hostage to Denmark in 1518, he escaped in the following year, and spent some time as a fugitive in the south of Sweden. The news of the 'Blood Bath of Stockholm', in which his father, a distinguished noble, and many of his relatives had fallen, caused him to make a solemn vow to drive the Danes from the land. With great difficulty, he reached his own province of Dalecarlia (1520). For nearly a year he lived there with the peasants, maturing his plans. Early in 1521 he appeared

Swedish War of Independence, 1520–3.

at the head of an army of dalesmen and began to march southward. His followers were inexperienced and poorly equipped, but they were filled with a bitter hatred of the Danes and had a leader who inspired them with confidence. They took Westerås and Upsala, but two attacks on Stockholm failed. When, however, the news of Christian's expulsion from Denmark arrived, the garrison withdrew from the capital (June 20, 1523) and Gustavus and his army entered. Already in 1521 he had been elected Regent of Sweden, and on June 7, 1523, had been crowned King.

Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, 1523–60.

§ 6. The new sovereign's position was a very difficult one. The nobles looked upon him merely as an equal and disliked his authority; the peasants supported him, but they were not used to orderly government and were impatient of control. The country was nearly ruined by the wars, the fields were uncultivated, the mines unworked. Two-thirds of the land was held by the nobles and the clergy, and they paid no taxes; the annual expenditure of the Crown was 60,000 marks, the revenue 24,000; the money borrowed from Lubeck for the war amounted to 1,000,000 marks. The Danes still held the south of Sweden, and Lubeck monopolized the commerce and the harbours.

Gustavus was compelled to do something to increase the revenue of the Crown. In 1522 and 1523 he demanded subsidies from the clergy, but these were not sufficient for his needs. He determined, therefore, to bring the Church properly under his own control. For some time he encouraged men to preach against clerical abuses, and protected those who taught Lutheran doctrines. The Swedes, especially those of the north, were very conservative, and clung to their ancient faith; Gustavus had the Scriptures translated into their own

tongue and copies of the Bible circulated among the people. The nobles were suspicious of an attack upon the property of the clergy; they feared that a similar scheme might be prepared against themselves; the King realized, therefore, that, to get their support, he would probably have to share the ecclesiastical property with them.

In 1526 the Diet imposed a very severe tax upon the clergy, bishops and monasteries being called upon to pay eight-ninths of their income. A revolt followed, stirred up by two bishops; it was soon quelled, and the leaders were tried by a secular tribunal and executed, the ignorant peasants being allowed to go unpunished.

Establishment of the Reformation, 1527.

§ 7. Matters had now come to a crisis. In 1527 the Diet of Westerås was summoned to discuss questions of faith, and especially the relations between Sweden and the Papacy. When the Diet met, the Chancellor rose and, in the King's name, explained the necessity for a larger revenue, and suggested that ecclesiastical property was the only source from which it could be obtained. The nobles received the proposal with disapproval; the clergy replied that they were directed by the Pope to defend their property, and would do so by force if necessary. Then Gustavus rose. He was a born leader; his stately presence, his courage, his stirring eloquence, and his personal influence over men made him ever able to move the masses. He had demanded the one thing that would make the existence of a national government possible, and his demand had been refused. '"Then," said Gustavus, "I will no longer be your King, and if you can find one who will please you better I shall be glad. Pay me for my property in the kingdom, and return what I have expended in your service; and then I solemnly protest that I will never return to this degenerate and

thankless native land of mine." With these words he strode from the hall and left the Diet to discuss the matter at their leisure. He knew what the result would be; he had made Sweden, and it could not do without him. They had all the power in their hands, whilst his only asset was his own personality. But it was enough, and after three days the members of the Diet sent to say that they would conform to his wishes in all things.'[1]

The famous Ordinances of Westerås were then passed. Of these the chief were:—

1. That all estates are bound jointly to quell rebellion and to defend the Government from internal and external foes.

2. That monasteries and church property are entirely at the disposal of the King.

3. That the nobles are justified in taking possession of all their property which has passed into the hands of the Church since 1454.

4. That preachers shall have freedom to announce the pure word of God, and that the gospel shall be taught in all Christian schools.

The bishops signed a special declaration that they were willing to be as rich or as poor as his grace the King willed; but, with their diminished incomes, they wished to be released from the duty of attendance at the Diet. They did not reappear as an estate in the Diet till 1547.

The changes in religion were made very gradually, and as many of the old usages and ceremonies as were not inconsistent with the new faith were retained. A Lutheran Archbishop of Upsala was appointed in 1527, and a National Synod, held under his presidency, guided the Reformation along strictly Lutheran lines.

In 1524, at the Diet of Malmö, Denmark acknowledged

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii, p. 626.

the independence of Sweden, retaining, however, the southern provinces for herself,[1] and in 1544 the crown was made hereditary in the family of Gustavus.

The Swedish Church after 1560.

§ 8. The Swedish Church passed through many vicissitudes in the latter part of the sixteenth century Eric XIV (1560–9), the son and successor of Gustavus' was inclined towards Calvinism, and suppressed some of the old rites and some of the ecclesiastical festivals. In 1569 Eric was dethroned, and the new King, John III (1569–92), proposed a reconciliation with the Pope, but he could not obtain satisfactory terms. His successor, Sigismund (1592–1604), who had been elected King of Poland in 1586, was a convinced Roman Catholic. The Swedes were determined to make sure of their religion before their new King arrived in the country. Sigismund's uncle Charles assumed the government in his nephew's name, and at the Synod of Upsala it was decided that the Scriptures were to be the test of all doctrine; the Augsburg Confession was adopted, and Luther's Small Catechism was made the basis of religious instruction. Several attempts were made by Sigismund on behalf of Roman Catholicism, but none of them were successful. The country was definitely committed to Lutheranism.

Luther's influence was very widely felt in Europe, but outside Germany the only lands in which the Lutheran Church was formally established were those of Scandinavia.

[1] See Map 2.

Suggestion of Subject for Essay

The connexion between political and religious movements in Denmark and Sweden during the sixteenth century.

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BOOK IV

THE CATHOLIC REACTION

CHAPTER XV

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

§ 1. Universal demand for reform. § 2. Spanish Reformation. § 3. Movements for reform in Italy.—(*a*) The 'Oratory of Divine Love'.—(*b*) The Capuchins.—(*c*) The Theatines. § 4. The Jesuits.—Ignatius Loyola, 1493–1556. § 5. The Inquisition. § 6. The Index. § 7. The Council of Trent.—First session, Dec. 1545–Sept. 1549.—Second session, May, 1551–April, 1552.—Third session, Jan. 1562–Dec. 1563. § 8. Character of Counter-Reformation Popes.—Paul IV, 1555–9.—Pius V, 1566–72.—Gregory XIII, 1572–85.—Sixtus V, 1585–90. § 9. Philip II of Spain, 1556–98. § 10. Home policy of Philip.—The Inquisition.—Constitutional rights of Aragon suppressed, 1591.—The revolt and suppression of the Moriscoes, 1568–70. § 11. The conquest of Portugal, 1580. § 12. Philip's foreign policy.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

As in Chapter XI.

Universal demand for reform.

§ 1. AT the beginning of the sixteenth century all Churchmen, except those immediately connected with the Papal Court, recognized the need for a reformation in the Church. The early mediaeval Church had stood for purity and righteousness, and the ecclesiastical laws, by which heavy penalties could be inflicted for clerical vices, showed that the clergy had been expected to teach honesty and morality by example as well as precept. The enforcement of these laws, however, became difficult when the higher clergy rarely obeyed them.

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries there was a general complaint that the clergy busied themselves with everything except the care of their people, and a stricter discipline was demanded. Christians in every country were conscious of a terrible lack of spirituality in the Church. The Papacy, however, refused to recognize the need for reform, and, in the early days of the Protestant Reformation, nothing was done to satisfy the demands of the true lovers of the Church, who longed for a renewal of her religious life.

Spanish Reformation.

§ 2. Of the countries of Western Christendom, Spain alone succeeded in carrying out a Reformation on mediaeval lines. In the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, under the great Cardinal Ximenes, the discipline of the Spanish Church was restored, the ignorance of the clergy was removed, and morality strictly enforced. It was Spain, consequently, that was able to supply the Papacy with an army of devoted soldiers when she at last saw that internal reform was a necessary prelude to success in fighting opposition from without. The Spanish reform was typically mediaeval, for every opinion or idea not strictly orthodox was sternly repressed, the terrible Inquisition being used for this purpose.

The Flemish Pope Adrian VI (1522–3) tried to bring about a similar reform in the Papal Court, the condition of which he recognized as responsible for most of the evils in the Church. Too many interests were involved, however; he was baffled on every side, and died without accomplishing anything.

Movements for reform in Italy:

§ 3. Yet in Italy itself there were some who earnestly sympathized with the demand for reform. Such men were found chiefly among the cultivated classes, for the religion of the Italian peasants of that time was little more

than ignorant superstition, and they were too much accustomed to the lack of morals in the clergy to be shocked by the lives of their priests; it made little difference to them whether the man who had the power of granting them absolution was good or bad.

(a) The 'Oratory of Divine Love';

The first definite organization of men desirous of reform was the society called the 'Oratory of Divine Love', which was founded at Rome before the death of Pope Leo X (1513–21). Its members were men who combined a love of the New Learning with a fervent faith, and for some time they met regularly for prayer and meditation and for the discussion of means for the purification of the Church. Some of the members of this brotherhood were: Contarini, a distinguished Venetian Senator; Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV; and Sadoleto and Reginald Pole. Many noble women in Italy sympathized with the desires of the reformers, notably Renée, Duchess of Ferrara (she, however, accepted the guidance of Calvin), and the highly gifted Vittoria Colonna.

(b) The Capuchins;

There was at this time, also, a revival of religious life among the monastic orders. A reformed branch of the Franciscans, pledged to obey 'to the letter' the rules of St. Francis, was founded in 1526. These, who were called Capuchins from their long hoods with pointed peaks, went about the country preaching to the people. They were sometimes superstitious and ignorant; some of them adopted Protestant ideas, but they lived simple and religious lives and did more than any others to keep the mass of the Italian people in the fold of the Roman Church.

(c) The Theatines.

A reform of the secular clergy was even more important for the Church in Italy than a revival of the monastic orders. Caraffa and another member of the

'Oratory of Divine Love' founded a society of secular clergy bound by the monastic vow of poverty; the members, who were called Theatines from Theate, the see of which Caraffa was Bishop, were to be to the bishop of a diocese as his staff is to a general; their object was the reformation of the clergy, and it was their duty to set an example of a truly clerical life as well as to preach.

Thus was the regeneration of Catholicism in Italy quietly and unostentatiously begun, but nothing could be done officially during the pontificate of Clement VII (1523–34), who spent all the efforts he could spare from the advancing of the interests of his family in preventing the summoning of a General Council.

The accession of Paul III (1534–49) roused the hopes of the reformers. Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoleto, and Pole were made Cardinals; the leaders of the reforming party were summoned to Rome; a scheme for the reform of the Papal Court was drawn up, but it revealed such a scandalous state of affairs that it could not be published. The work of reformation began, nevertheless, though it proceeded slowly. A General Council was summoned to Mantua in May, 1537, but the renewal of war between Francis I and Charles V prevented the meeting. Another was summoned later, but it also did not meet.

In 1540 Contarini was sent to Germany, at Charles V's request, to try to bring about a reconciliation between the Catholics and the Protestants there. The failure of the Conference at Ratisbon (1541), where the Pope was represented by this, the most moderate of the Cardinals, who himself longed for reform and for unity, proved the hopelessness of ending the religious strife by a compromise. The efforts of Contarini in Germany marked a great difference between the methods of two of the

leading Italian reformers, and the realization of the difference caused a split in the party of reform. Contarini, while remaining loyal to the Church and the Pope, was willing to combine a reform of abuses and of discipline with a restatement of doctrine and some reduction of Papal prerogative. Caraffa, on the other hand, though equally zealous for the removal of abuses, would have nothing to do with schemes that involved either a break with the past or secular interference in the affairs of the Church.

After the failure of the Ratisbon Conference the Pope summoned another General Council (1542), but it was three years later before it met at Trent (December, 1545).

The Jesuits.

§ 4. Meanwhile, a new religious order had been founded, which was to be the chief instrument of the Papacy in its effort to renew its influence in Western Christendom, and was to carry on its work in a militant spirit, without thought of compromise. This was the Society of Jesus, 'the most powerful missionary organization the world has ever seen.' Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, was a Spaniard, born of noble parents in the little province of Guipuscoa in the year 1493. Like all the men of his family he became a soldier, but at the siege of Pampeluna (1521), where his conspicuous bravery won the respect even of his enemies, he received an injury to his leg which made him lame for life. His military career being thus ended, the brilliant soldier determined to win fame by becoming a saint. He was of a highly imaginative nature, enthusiastic and romantic, but at the same time sternly practical. He soon realized that a man needed to live very near to God to be a saint. When he was well enough to be lifted on to an ass, therefore, he left his brother's castle, and, laying aside

Ignatius Loyola, 1493–1556.

his knightly arms and dedicating himself to the service of the Virgin and the Infant Christ, set out for a lonely monastery, where he lived as a hermit. By practising the strictest asceticism he tried to prepare himself for the life of a saint; but fasting, confession, and penance failed to satisfy his soul, and he passed through a period of spiritual conflict similar to that experienced by Luther at Erfurt. After some time, during which he suffered terrible mental anguish, he suddenly realized that if he would throw himself upon God's mercy all his sins would be forgiven. With his realization of the certainty of pardon the anguish passed, and overpowering gladness took its place. He left the monastery, and, taking a vow of poverty, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1523). On his return he determined to study theology, and, never having learnt Latin, at the age of thirty he attended a school in Barcelona. In 1528 he went to Paris. There he learnt many things besides theology; with his keen observation he remarked everything—the characters of his fellow men, the religious situation, and the conditions of life and thought in Paris. He soon realized the work that could be done for the Church by a well-organized society subjected to a more than military discipline.

Beginning of the Society of Jesus, 1534.

After some time he gathered round him a little band of his fellow students—Diego Lainez (whose powers of organization afterwards made him invaluable to the Society), Francis Xavier (the future Apostle of the Indies), and others. On August 15, 1534, these men heard Mass and received the Communion together in the Church of St. Mary of Montmartre. They vowed that if no insuperable difficulty occurred they would go together to Palestine to work for the good of mankind. If this became impossible they would ask the Pope for directions, and, leaving home and family, and without

superfluous money, they would work together for the regeneration of the Church.

In 1537 the friends met at Venice with the object of starting for the Holy Land, but the war between the Republic and Turkey made their departure impossible. Three of them then went to Rome to offer their services to the Pope, leaving the others to work for the improvement of religious life in Northern Italy. After many difficulties and much opposition, the Society of Jesus was finally founded and received the confirmation of the Pope on September 27, 1540. In the following April the members met and unanimously elected Loyola as their first General.

Organization of the Society.

The Society was organized in six classes, the highest class, 'the professed of the four vows,' alone enjoying all the privileges of the Order. Besides the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the members had to take a fourth—to obey the reigning Pope in all things without hesitation or excuse. It was the blind obedience of the members to their superiors that constituted a great part of the strength of the organization, which was like a vast machine entirely controlled by the will of the General. He resided at Rome, 'holding the threads of the complicated affairs of the Society in his hands, receiving minute reports of the secret and personal history of every one of its members, dealing as he pleased with the highest as well as the lowest of his subordinates.'[1] Yet the General himself was under the constant supervision of five sworn spies, who were appointed to see that he did not alter the constitution of the Society without calling a General Council.

In order that they might carry on their special work, the members were relieved from the ordinary religious

[1] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, pp. 552–3.

routine and were not obliged to wear a special dress. Their minds and their bodies were trained to perfection, and they appeared as cultivated men of the world rather than ecclesiastics. The Jesuits realized the importance of education: they founded excellent schools, where the teaching was gratuitous, and by these they obtained influence over the young in many countries. They often reached the parents through the children, and retained their hold by means of the confessional. Their object was to work for the good of their fellow men, but the only men whom Loyola recognized as his fellows were the members of the Catholic Church. It was the narrowness of his horizon and his conception of true religion that was one of the causes of the moral deterioration of the Society. Loyola accepted all the doctrines of the Church as divine laws, and believed that a blind, unreasoning obedience to their dictates was demanded from all Christians. 'If the Church pronounces a thing which seems to us white to be black, we must immediately say it is black,' was his rule. He himself cared most of all for the mission work which raised the fallen, succoured orphans, taught the ignorant, and improved the morals of clergy and laity alike, and there can be no doubt that a great work of this kind was done by the Jesuits in the earlier years of their foundation. Afterwards, however (perhaps from the time of the Generalship of Lainez, Loyola's successor), a change came over the Order; and their application of the theory that the end justifies the means, their habit of transforming, for political purposes, deadly sins into venial offences, and their shameless neglect of religion and morality, have blinded men to the real good done by the Society in the sixteenth century. The Counter-Reformation owed much to the earlier Jesuits, for they

gave the Church a spirit of faith and enthusiasm, and set an example of self-sacrifice and devotion.

The Inquisition.

§ 5. Two years after the formal foundation of the Society of Jesus an effective instrument for the suppression of heresy was set up in Rome. This was the Inquisition, a court which punished spiritual and ecclesiastical offences by physical pains and penalties. Such a court had existed in the Middle Ages, but its activity had ceased during the fifteenth century. In 1477 Ferdinand and Isabella had obtained from Pope Sixtus IV authority to set up the Inquisition in Spain. The work of this tribunal in stamping out heresy in the Peninsula had been eminently successful, and Caraffa suggested that the erection of a similar court in Rome would be of great advantage to the Church. Accordingly, on July 21, 1542, a Papal Bull set up the 'Holy Office of the Universal Church'. Six Cardinals, Caraffa among them, were appointed Inquisitors-General, with authority on both sides of the Alps to try all cases of heresy and to imprison suspected persons. They could delegate their authority to inferior tribunals, and all, from the highest to the lowest, were declared subject to their jurisdiction; they had power to inflict even capital punishment, and appeal from their judgement could be made only to the Pope. The Roman Inquisition also heard appeals from the sentences of courts of the Inquisition in other localities, and sent Inquisitors to any place where they seemed to be needed. The establishment of this court marked the beginning of the more violent opposition to Protestantism on the part of the Church.

The Index.

§ 6. The leaders of the Counter-Reformation realized that the success of their movement depended partly on the destruction of writings which sowed the seeds

of heresy in the minds of the people. In places where the Inquisition was established the work of censorship was carried out by that court, but in other parts it could only be accomplished by the co-operation of the secular authorities. In order that there might be some uniformity in the books condemned, lists of prohibited books had been drawn up at various times. In 1559 Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) drafted the first Papal Index; this was so drastic that it was of no effect. Afterwards, a commission appointed by the Council of Trent drew up a set of rules to be followed in constructing a list of prohibited books, and the actual formation of the Index was then left to the Pope. All the writings of noted reformers were forbidden; the Vulgate was the only authorized version of the Scriptures; versions in the vernacular were never to be quoted. All commentaries, Bible dictionaries, &c., had to pass through a severe examination, and all doubtful passages were to be expunged. The Index had little effect north of the Alps, but, for a time at least, it succeeded in crushing all scholarship and all original thought in Italy, as in Spain and Portugal.

The Council of Trent.

§ 7. It was necessary for the Church in her organized fight against Protestantism to make a definite statement of her doctrines. This was accomplished by the Council of Trent in its final session (1562–3); before that time there was much that was contradictory and much that was vague in the body of the tradition of the Church.

First session, Dec. 1545–Sept. 1549.

On December 13, 1545, the long-expected Council met for its first session at Trent. The Emperor hoped that practical reforms would be introduced, and that these would be the means of putting an end to the schism in the Church. The Italian party, headed by Caraffa, were determined to begin by establishing the absolute

supremacy of the Pope, and by dealing with the heretics. The difference between the Emperor and the Pope and Charles's success in Germany led to Paul's transferring the Council from Trent to Bologna (1547); at this the Emperor protested, and, soon after, the members dispersed.

Second session, May, 1551–April, 1552.

In 1551 the Council was reopened at Trent in the pontificate of Julius III (1550–3). This Pope, also, was opposed to making concessions to the Lutherans, and little had been accomplished when the advance of Maurice of Saxony on Innsbrück (1552) caused the meeting to break up in haste.

Third session, Jan. 1562–Dec. 1563.

Pope Pius IV (1559–65) opened the third session of the Council in January, 1562. The Protestants, whose independent position had been recognized by the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), did not attend, and the object of the Council was the organization of the Roman Church. It had to determine the relation between the Pope and the Church, to define doctrines, and to carry out internal reforms. This work was not effected easily, the various parties having different opinions as to what was needed. The Emperor wished for an extensive reform which would make reconciliation with the Protestants possible; his scheme included permission for the marriage of the clergy, for Communion in both kinds, for a revision of the service and the use of the vernacular, and for a reduction of the powers of the Pope. This scheme was supported by the German bishops, and also by the French, who were headed by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were opposed to any change in the doctrines and services of the Church, although they shared the desire for a reformation in the Papal Court and a limitation of the powers of the Pope.

On the surface, the difficulties confronting the Council seemed insuperable. Pius IV, however, was a skilled diplomatist; he realized the necessity of uniting all the forces that were still on the side of the Roman Catholic Church and of forming an alliance between the Papacy and the Catholic sovereign. By clever bargaining he managed to come to terms separately with Ferdinand, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Philip II, and he maintained a majority in the Council by systematic drafts of Italian bishops to Trent. He was warmly supported by Cardinal Morone, by the Jesuit Lainez, and by Carlo Borromeo, the saintly Archbishop of Milan, and in the end his manipulation was successful.

Many reforms were carried out, and the Church was reorganized and its purification begun; unity was established by a careful definition of the Romanist doctrines, which were all interpreted strictly in the mediaeval sense; the Papal supremacy over the Church was extended, while the confirmation of the Council's decrees and the measures to be used to carry them out were left entirely in the hands of the Pope. The bishops met for the last time on December 4, 1563.

The Roman Church could no longer claim to be universal, but within its narrower limits it was a much stronger fighting force than it had been before.

Character of Counter-Reformation Popes. Paul IV, 1555–9.

§ 8. The improvement in the Church at this time can be seen by contrasting the Popes of the Counter-Reformation with those of the preceding period.[1] As Cardinal Caraffa, Pope Paul IV (1555–9) had already played a leading part in the work of reform; he also organized the Inquisition and drew up the Index. In the early days of his pontificate, his hatred of the Spaniards caused him to be drawn by his nephews into political

[1] See ch. viii.

affairs. Later, however, when he found that his relations were working purely for their own ends, he deprived them of their offices and drove them from the Court. From that time the Popes ceased to devote their energies to advancing the interests of their own families. They devoted themselves to the work of reform and the carrying out of their ecclesiastical duties, and they did much to strengthen the Papal States by improving the system of government and finance.

Pius V, 1566–72.

Pius V (1566–72) had entered a Dominican convent in his youth, and throughout his life he practised the strictest asceticism, having a fervent detestation of immorality, heresy, and hypocrisy. It was he who encouraged Philip II to use the severest measures in the Netherlands, who sent help against the Huguenots in France, and issued the Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth. He also formed the alliance with Spain and Venice which led to the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto (1571).

Gregory XIII, 1572–85.

Gregory XIII (1572–85) was naturally inclined to laxity, but he could not resist the prevailing tendencies of the time. In Rome he was entirely successful, but his administration of the Papal States led to great disorder.

Sixtus V, 1585–90.

His successor, Sixtus V (1585–90), had a remarkable spirit of organization. He encouraged agriculture, industries, and commerce, repaired roads and bridges, and very much improved the condition of his provinces. He struggled in every region to secure the victory of Catholicism in Europe. His discipline was severe and not always popular, but all were obliged to respect the simplicity and austerity of his life.

Philip II of Spain, 1556–98.

§ 9. The monarch who represented in every way the spirit of the Catholic reaction was Philip II of Spain. The son of Charles V was a Spaniard, who inherited the religious fervour and bigotry of his Spanish ancestors.

He was cold, reserved, and obstinate, but he possessed an unfailing industry, and in his home circle he was always loving and beloved. His father had early given him a thorough training in statecraft, but Philip had neither Charles's breadth of view nor his grasp of mind. Throughout his life he was guided by two ruling principles—his devotion to the Church and her interests, and his belief in the autocratic power of monarchs. At home and abroad he constituted himself the champion of Catholicism, his dearest hope being to crush heresy and reunite Christendom.

Home policy of Philip. The Inquisition.

§ 10. In Spain Philip made the greatest possible use of the Inquisition. By means of this tribunal he severely punished the slightest deviation from strictest orthodoxy and kept the control of the Spanish Church in his own hands; he also employed its powers to put down all who opposed his efforts to crush the constitutional liberties and privileges of the kingdom.

Constitutional rights of Aragon suppressed, 1591.

In Castile, Charles V had already deprived the Cortes of all real power, though they still retained the forms of constitutional authority. Philip II set himself to carry out the same work in Aragon, where the privileges of the Cortes were protected by the Justiza, an officer whose authority rivalled that of the King. The appeal made to this officer (1590) by Antonio Perez, a royal secretary who had incurred his sovereign's displeasure, gave Philip an opportunity for ending the constitutional liberties of Aragon. The removal of Perez to the prison of the Inquisition caused a revolt of the people of Saragossa (1591), which was soon quelled by a royal army. The Justiza and the leaders of the rebellion were executed, in spite of the law by which the former had the right of freedom from arrest. The Cortes were made a body of royal nominees and deprived of nearly all their privi-

leges except that of presenting petitions. The Castilian nobles had already been excluded from all share in the government, and from this time the Aragonese also had very little influence. As a class, the nobles became useless and degenerate; possessing vast wealth, they were, nevertheless, free from taxation; haughty and exclusive, in their own castles they maintained an etiquette similar to that of the Court.

The revolt and suppression of the Moriscoes, 1568–70.

The Inquisition was used also to crush the Moriscoes, as the Moors who had remained in Spain and outwardly conformed to Christianity were called. These people formed the industrial element in the Spanish population: they were skilful artisans engaged in many handicrafts; they excelled in agriculture, and by careful irrigation and cultivation they had converted the dry slopes of Andalusia into a fertile garden.

The renewed wars against the Barbary corsairs (1560–4) and against the Turks fanned into new life the bitter hatred which the Spaniards had always felt for the Moors. Various edicts were passed against them, and at last one published on January 1, 1567, which interfered with the privacy of their homes and the customs of their women, caused them to revolt. The mountain population first rose (December, 1568), but they could not persuade the Moriscoes of Granada to join them. They committed some horrible atrocities, and, in return, many were slaughtered without distinction of age or sex. Some of Philip's advisers advocated a policy of conciliation which would probably have been successful, but their advice was not followed. In Granada itself a large number of Moors were arrested on suspicion and massacred in cold blood (March, 1569); a little later (June) the whole Moorish population was expelled from the town. Don John of Austria was sent with an army

to take the field against the rebels, and in May, 1570, the revolt came to an end. All the Moors were then ordered to leave Andalusia and settle in the interior of Spain, their houses and lands being declared forfeit to the Crown. 'It is,' wrote Don John, 'the saddest thing imaginable to see the depopulation of a whole kingdom.' The industry of the exiles soon rendered prosperous the districts in which they made their new homes, but in 1609 they were driven out of the Peninsula altogether.

The internal government of Philip was in every way disastrous to the prosperity of his native land: the nobles were rendered useless, the people lost their share in the government, all originality was stamped out, trade was ruined by a bad financial and commercial policy, industry was crushed by the treatment of the Moors, and the natural bigotry and indolence of the Spaniard was fostered. Spain had reached the summit of her power in the first half of the sixteenth century: she had begun to move steadily down the path of decline before the death of Philip II.

The conquest of Portugal, 1580.

§ 11. Philip's greatest success was the completion of the unity of the Peninsula by the conquest of Portugal. A number of marriages between the two royal families had taken place in the hope of bringing about a union of the crowns, but this had not yet been accomplished. In 1578 King Sebastian died, and was succeeded by his great-uncle Henry,[1] an old man and a Cardinal. Henry's death followed in 1580, and Philip claimed the throne. His only serious rivals were Antonio, Prior of Crato (an illegitimate son of Henry's brother, who maintained that he was legitimate), and the Duchess of Braganza. Antonio was proclaimed King, but Philip sent an army under Alva into Portugal. Lisbon was

[1] See Genealogical Table IV.

taken, and the villages round were sacked with relentless cruelty by the Spanish soldiers. Antonio fled from the country. On June 29, 1581, Philip entered Lisbon, and was crowned King. The Spanish rule became so unpopular that in 1640 the Portuguese threw off the yoke, and the crown passed to the House of Braganza.

Philip's foreign policy.

§ 12. Abroad, Philip laboured for the Roman Catholic cause. His efforts to enforce religious uniformity in the Netherlands caused the people to revolt and to establish their independence.[1] He helped to drive the Turks from Malta (1565), and was instrumental in forming the league that led to their defeat at Lepanto (1571). In France he joined with the Guises, the leaders of the Catholic reaction in that country, in the league whose aim was the suppression of the Huguenots.[2] His greatest effort was the sending of the Armada against England, the country of Elizabeth, the Protestant champion, who had for many years secretly assisted his enemies. His reception of the news of the failure of his fleet gives us an insight into the view which he held of his position as God's instrument. He and his country were ruined, his dearest schemes had miscarried, but he never lost heart or faith. He bore his grief patiently, and merely expressed his regret that he had not been permitted to render God this great service.

In 1598 Philip died, deeply regretted by his Spanish subjects in spite of his arbitrary government; he was succeeded by his son, Philip III[3] (1598–1621), an utterly incapable ruler, who entrusted the government to his favourite, the Duke of Lerma.

[1] See ch. xvi. [2] See ch. xvi.

[3] A mystery attaches to Philip's eldest son, Don Carlos, who died in 1568. For some months before his death he was kept in confinement, probably because of fits of insanity, possibly because he may have adopted Protestant views.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. What did the Jesuits accomplish for the Church in the sixteenth century?

2. 'The Spaniards still cherish the memory of Philip II as a great king, not for what he did, but for what he dreamed.' Explain this, and discuss the character and policy of Philip.

3. Contrast the Popes of the Counter-Reformation with those of the Renaissance.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

§ 1. Political condition of Netherlands.—Charles V's policy of consolidation. § 2. Character of the Netherlanders.—The Reformation movement.—Unpopularity of Philip II's government. § 3. William the Silent, 1533-84.—Count Egmont, 1522-68.—Admiral Hoorn, 1518-68. § 4. Increasing discontent.—Dismissal of Granvelle, 1564; no change in policy. § 5. General opposition to Philip's government.—The 'Compromise', 1566.—The 'Request', April, 1566.—The 'Beggars'.—General insurrection, 1566-7. § 6. Alva in the Netherlands, 1567-73.—William's 'Justification', 1568.—Battle of Heiligeree, May, 1568.—Execution of Egmont and Hoorn, June, 1568.—Battle of Jemmingen, July, 1568.—Alva's ruinous taxation, 1569. § 7. The Sea-Beggars at Brille, April 1, 1572.—William recognized as Stadtholder of Northern Provinces, July, 1572.—Capitulation of Mons, Sept. 1572.—The siege of Haarlem, Dec. 1572-July, 1573.—Recall of Alva, 1573. § 8. Don Luis de Requesens Regent, 1573-6.—Death of Lewis, April, 1574.—Relief of Leyden, Oct. 3, 1574.—The 'Spanish Fury', Nov. 1576.—The Pacification of Ghent, Nov. 1576. § 9. Don John of Austria Regent, 1576-8.—Parma in the Netherlands, 1578. § 10. Catholic Union of Arras, 1579.—Protestant Union of Utrecht, 1579.—The ban against William, 1580.—The Act of Abjuration, 1581.—Sovereignty accepted by Anjou, 1582.—The 'French Fury', 1583.—Assassination of William, 1584.—Maurice and Oldenbarneveldt. § 11. Leicester in the Netherlands, 1585-7.—The Armada, 1588.—Independence practically acknowledged, 1609.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

As in Chapter XI.

§ 1. WHEN the Netherlands passed to Charles, the grandson of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, in 1506, they were a collection of seventeen

Political condition of Netherlands.

provinces — duchies, lordships, counties, and municipalities—each with its own peculiar government and bound to one another by no tie except that of acknowledging a common sovereign. The various provinces were inhabited by people differing in race and language, in interests and sentiment. The Dutchmen of the north lived chiefly by fishing and maritime commerce, the Flemings of the centre and the French-speaking Walloons of the south by manufactures, trading, and agriculture. The provinces were prosperous, their cities vied with those of Italy in industry and intelligence, and Antwerp was said to be 'the great harbour and emporium for the trade of the European world'.

Charles V's policy of consolidation.

Charles V, following the policy of the time, endeavoured to form a central government and make the loosely united and scattered provinces into a compact state. He extended his boundaries by securing Friesland in 1515, Overyssel in 1528, Gröningen in 1536, Guelders and Zutphen in 1543, and the temporal sovereignty over the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht in 1527. By the Treaty of Madrid (1526), Flanders, Artois, and Tournai were freed from French sovereignty. Charles was not successful in the south-east; he could neither buy nor conquer the independent principality of Lorraine which lay between Luxemburg and Franche-Comté.[1] In 1548 the Netherlands were organized as the Burgundian Circle (pp. 161–2), though they retained their independence of Imperial taxation and jurisdiction. A representative States-General united the provinces into one principality, and all provincial courts were made subject to a Supreme Court of Justice established at Mechlin.

Another difficulty in governing the Netherlands arose from the fact that the ecclesiastical and the territorial

[1] See Map 8.

divisions did not coincide. At the accession of Philip II (1555) there were only four sees—Arras, Utrecht, Tournai, and Cambray—and these were too large to be satisfactorily administered. The other parts of the Netherlands were under the jurisdiction of foreign bishops, and all were subject to foreign archbishops. Charles had proposed to reform this by the establishment of six new bishoprics, but the Papal Court had opposed his plans and he had not time to put them into effect.

Character of the Netherlanders.

§ 2. The inhabitants of the Low Countries had always been obliged to struggle against the sea; much of their land had been originally won and was retained only by unceasing efforts. The necessity of constantly overcoming difficulties had made the people hard-working, persevering, and determined, and the possession of these characteristics was undoubtedly one of the chief causes of their material prosperity. Their mental condition was equally prosperous; the excellent schools of the brethren of the Common Lot[1] had been established in different parts of the country, and many famous humanists (among them Erasmus, the prince of them all) belonged to the Netherlands. The education of the people in the schools of the brethren, where the foundation of all teaching was the Gospel of Christ, prepared their minds for the Reformation movement.

The Reformation movement.

Tracts against indulgences were in circulation in the Low Countries before Luther fastened his ninety-five theses to the church door at Wittenberg, and evangelical teaching had begun to spread through the land, many translations of the Bible or of the New Testament into Dutch, Flemish, or French being made between 1513 and 1531. Luther's writings became widely known and read, and Charles V issued proclamations against his books.

[1] See p. 126, note.

The edicts (called 'Placards') increased in severity, and in 1550, after the issue of one which threatened death to all heretics or harbourers of heretics, the Inquisition was established in the Netherlands. Charles was never allowed to appoint one Inquisitor-General who should have uncontrolled power to enforce the edicts, but, by his board of 'ecclesiastical judges', he set himself to crush heresy in the provinces, and many men and women gave their lives for their faith. The Reformed faith spread, however, and the Regents, Margaret of Austria (1506–30) and Mary of Hungary (1530–55), were not always very strict in enforcing the edicts.

In spite of his policy of centralization, his severe religious edicts, and his continual demand for money, Charles V was popular in the Netherlands, the land of his birth; he loved the people and was loved by them. Except in religious matters he was too cautious to excite any general opposition, and the provinces were prosperous under his rule. The ceremony of the Emperor's abdication in the great hall of the palace of Brussels (October, 25, 1555), when ruler and subjects were all overcome with emotion, is one of the most touching in history. On that occasion Philip II might have won a place in the hearts of his new subjects, but he could not speak their language and he lost his opportunity.

Unpopularity of Philip II's government.

Philip continued his father's policy, but he at once roused opposition. He left the country in 1559, never to return, and in that same year his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, became Regent. The powers of the Regent were nominally great, but she was directed to rule by the advice of three councils, of which the Council of State, where the great nobles had seats, was the chief. There was, however, a small committee—the *Consulta*—which, following Philip's instructions, destroyed the

influence of the Council; it consisted of the Bishop of Arras (Cardinal de Granvelle), Barlaymont, a Flemish noble, and Viglius, a lawyer.

The government by Margaret and the *Consulta* alienated all classes; the nobles were irritated at being ignored, the people were alarmed at the disregard of their liberties. The institution of a number of new bishoprics and their organization under three archbishoprics—Mechlin Cambray, Utrecht—was very unpopular, for clergy and people alike feared that the episcopal power would lead to an increase in the severity of the Inquisition. The Reformation movement still made progress; the teachings of Calvin had been introduced during the latter part of Charles V's reign, and these appealed to the Netherlanders more than the Lutheran doctrines. Philip, however, was determined to extirpate heresy altogether. 'I would lose all my States and a hundred lives if I had them,' he wrote, 'rather than be the lord of heretics.'

§ 3. The opposition to the government was led by three great nobles, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Admiral Hoorn.

William the Silent, 1533–84.

William of Nassau was born at his father's castle in the county of Nassau on April 25, 1533. At the age of eleven he inherited the vast possessions of his cousin René, which included much land in the Netherlands and the principality of Orange on the Rhone, the latter carrying with it the title of Sovereign Prince of the Empire. William's parents were Lutherans, but, after his cousin René's death, they allowed him to be brought up as a Catholic at the Court of Brussels. Charles V took a great interest in the boy, his favourite page, who, under the tuition of the brother of Granvelle, made rapid progress, speaking and writing with ease in five languages—Flemish, German, Spanish, French, and

Latin. William was entrusted with military command at an early age, and was employed on diplomatic missions, in which he was particularly successful. At the famous ceremony of abdication Charles entered the hall leaning on the arm of his young favourite, whom he had appointed Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland. William was one of the plenipotentiaries sent to arrange the terms of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, and he was afterwards one of the State hostages (Count Egmont and the Dukes of Alva and Aerschot being the others) who went to Paris to guarantee the carrying out of the terms of peace. While there he became aware of the secret agreement between the Kings of France and Spain to stamp out heresy from their dominions by fire and the sword. William was still, nominally at any rate, a Catholic, but he determined that henceforth he would do his best 'to drive this Spanish vermin from the land'. It was at this time that the Prince won the nickname of *le Taciturne*, 'the Silent,' because of his habitual discretion. The title is apt to give a wrong impression of a man who was 'the most affable and gracious of men, brilliant in speech, and famous for his charm of manner',[1] of whom it was said later that 'every time he put off his hat he won a subject from the King of Spain'. In 1561, much against the wishes of Philip and Granvelle, William married Anne, daughter of Maurice of Saxony, and a granddaughter of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse.[2]

Count Egmont, 1522-68.

Count Egmont also belonged to a distinguished family, and possessed great estates in the Netherlands. He won renown in the battles of St. Quentin (1557) and Grave-

[1] Harrison, *William the Silent*, p. 231.
[2] See ch. xii.

lines (1558), and Philip appointed him Stadtholder of Brabant and Artois. His fine presence, genial manner, and military success made him very popular. To the end he remained a sincere Catholic and a loyal subject of the King.

Admiral Hoorn, 1518–68.

Philip de Montmorency, Count van Hoorn and Admiral of Flanders, was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. He had staked much property in the service of Charles and of Philip. He served with distinction at St. Quentin, and in 1559 accompanied Philip to Spain. On his return to the Netherlands in 1561 he was made a member of the Council of State.

Increasing discontent.

§ 4. In 1563 these three nobles wrote to Philip demanding the dismissal of Granvelle, and they declined to appear at the Council until their request was granted. In 1564 Philip very reluctantly dismissed his minister, but he made no change in his policy.

Dismissal of Granvelle, 1564; no change in policy.

In August, on his sole authority, he ordered the publication and enforcement of the edicts of the Council of Trent in the Netherlands. This drew forth a protest from Catholics and Protestants alike, as it was a serious invasion of the privileges of the provinces. In 1565 Count Egmont was sent to Spain to urge upon the King the necessity of calling the States-General and of reforming the Council of State and admitting more native noblemen as councillors. He was well received by Philip and magnificently entertained, but he was quite deceived as to the King's intentions. The letter he carried back to the Council destroyed all the hopes of the nobles; no change was to be made in the administration, the States-General was not to be summoned, and the edicts against heretics were to be strictly enforced. The Decrees of Trent were to be published immediately in Philip's name. The Regent remonstrated and implored

her brother to moderate his orders, but he merely reiterated the command to execute the edicts. From the receipt of the first letter William of Orange declared that it was useless further to try to persuade the King; he called on the Council to publish the proclamation, and is said to have whispered to his neighbour, 'Now we shall see the curtain rise on a fine tragedy.'

General opposition to Philip's government.

§ 5. The proclamation roused wild indignation and excitement, and magistrates refused to execute the edicts, which would compel them to burn more than 60,000 of their fellow countrymen. Foreign merchants fled, thousands of skilled workmen left the Netherlands, trade ceased, and hundreds of pamphlets appealing to the people to put an end to the tyranny were distributed through the land and eagerly read. For the first time the lesser nobility began to take an active part in the opposition; they were led by Lewis of Nassau, the brave, reckless, chivalrous, and God-fearing young brother of William, by the learned Philip van Marnix, Lord of Sainte Aldegonde, a Calvinist, who had no more idea of toleration than the King himself, and by the dissipated Henry, Viscount de Brederode.

The 'Compromise', 1566.

In November, 1565, on the day of the marriage of Alexander of Parma with Maria of Portugal, when Brussels was gay with the wedding festivities, a number of young nobles met together to hear a sermon by a Calvinist missionary preacher. At this meeting and others afterwards they decided to form a confederacy of nobles. In a document called the 'Compromise' they bound themselves to unite in resisting the Inquisition, 'which evil counsellors, mostly foreigners, had induced the King to establish in the country in violation of his oath.' At the same time they protested their loyalty. About five hundred of the lesser nobility and a number

of burghers joined the league; the greater nobles took no part in it.

In April, 1566, the confederates presented a petition to the Regent, asking for the abolition of the 'Placards' and the Inquisition and the assembling of the States-General. They made an imposing demonstration as they marched through the streets to the palace amid the acclamations of the populace, and the Duchess was somewhat dismayed. Barlaymont, however, reassured her with the famous words, 'Madame, is your Highness afraid of these beggars (*ces gueux*)?' The next day, at a banquet of three hundred of the confederates, when they were discussing a name for the league, de Brederode rose and said, 'They call us Beggars; let us adopt the name. We will resist the Inquisition, but we will remain true to the King and to the beggar's wallet.' From that time the party of opposition was known as the 'Beggars'.

The 'Request', April, 1566.

The 'Beggars'.

Meanwhile the Regent sent envoys to Philip, urging him to abolish the Inquisition and summon the States-General to moderate the edicts. The apparent success of the confederates encouraged the people; refugees returned in great numbers; missionaries of the Reformed faith appeared all over the country and preached to the people in the woods, in villages, and even on the outskirts of great towns. The confederates held another meeting, and presented a second petition to the Regent, in which they hinted that unless the persecution was mitigated they would appeal to force. Philip now sent a dispatch promising to withdraw the Inquisition, but refusing to summon the States-General.

At this time, however, a general insurrection broke out. The opposition spread to the lower classes, and the people went mad. Churches were invaded, images thrown down, coloured windows broken, and manuscripts

General insurrection, 1566–7.

and books destroyed. The beautiful cathedral of Antwerp was sacked and its richest treasures destroyed. Many of the rioters came from the dregs of the population. These fanatical scenes did more harm than anything else to the cause of the Reformation ; they alienated the Roman Catholics, many of whom had previously joined the league, and they shocked all moderate men. The Regent wished to flee from Brussels, but William of Orange advised her to remain, and when she had made certain concessions, the great nobles supported her in crushing the rebellion. Afterwards, Margaret, enraged by the insurrection, took advantage of the reaction it caused and withdrew all the privileges she had granted, and raised troops in the Catholic provinces to overawe the towns which she could least trust.

Alva in the Netherlands, 1567–73.

§ 6. The news of the outrages infuriated Philip, and he determined to revenge himself, not only on the rebels, but upon the great nobles. William of Orange, always well informed through his agents at Madrid, unable to persuade Egmont and Hoorn to resist by force of arms, retired to his estates in Germany (April, 1567). He escaped just in time, for, shortly afterwards, the Duke of Alva, 'the hangman of the Netherlands,' bigoted, cruel, and determined, arrived in Brussels with a fine army of Spaniards and Italians. Philip had granted him such extensive powers that the Regent's authority became merely nominal, and soon after she left the Netherlands. Alva at once introduced garrisons into the chief towns, and, luring Egmont and Hoorn to his residence, he suddenly arrested and imprisoned them. No court existed that could execute summary justice on these prisoners, so, by the mere fiat of his will, Alva created one ; it was called the 'Council of Tumults', but was popularly known as the 'Council of Blood' ; its decisions

were to override those of any other court, and it was to be responsible to none.

The Council began its sittings on September 20, 1567. Thousands of people were brought before it from every part of the land, and they were condemned in batches, sometimes as many as eighty or ninety at a time. Alva wrote to Philip that more than fifteen hundred were taken in their beds on Ash Wednesday morning, and added, 'I have ordered all of them to be executed.' He is said afterwards to have boasted that during the period of his rule he had executed 18,600 persons. Thousands of people left the country; Granvelle estimated that 60,000 went to England alone, and more to Germany. Meanwhile, the proceedings against Egmont and Hoorn dragged on, William of Orange was declared an outlaw if he did not submit himself for trial before the 'Council of Tumults', and his eldest son, a boy of fifteen, was kidnapped from the University of Louvain and carried off to Spain (1568).

William's 'Justification', 1568.

William now published his 'Justification', in which he declared that as one of the sovereign Princes of Europe he would not be summoned before a tribunal which had no jurisdiction over him. The document is an account of the events in the Netherlands and an arraignment of Philip; it was published in several languages and distributed through Europe.

A change had come over the character of William. Previously somewhat indifferent to religion, he had been moved by the sufferings of his countrymen to study the Holy Scriptures, and the Reformed doctrine had taken hold of him. He believed he was God's instrument to rescue his persecuted people, and he made preparations for an armed opposition. With difficulty he collected an army, and was ready by the end of

April, 1568. He arranged for a threefold attack on the Netherlands.

Battle of Heiligeree, May, 1568.

In May his brother Lewis defeated the Spaniards at Heiligerlee, but otherwise the campaign was a failure.

Execution of Egmont and Hoorn, June, 1568.

Alva was roused to fury by the reverse. In spite of the protests of the Emperor and the German Princes, he executed Egmont and Hoorn (June 5) in the market-place at Brussels, and then, at the head of a magnificent army, marched against Lewis of Nassau, whom he defeated at the battle of Jemmingen (July 21). William himself now advanced into Brabant, but Alva avoided an engagement, and the expedition was a failure. 'We may regard the Prince now as a dead man,' wrote Alva to Philip; 'he has neither influence nor credit. They are broken, famished, cut to pieces.'

Battle of Jemmingen, July, 1568.

The Netherlanders were overawed by Alva's reign of terror, they were slow to move, and William's action was premature. An overwhelming opposition was preparing, however; the execution of Egmont and Hoorn had roused the national feeling of the people, and Alva himself raised the storm by a ruinous scheme of taxation.

Alva's ruinous taxation 1569.

In 1569 he proposed to levy a tax of one per cent. on all property, another of five per cent. on every sale of landed property, and one of ten per cent. upon every sale of goods. Such a scheme was preposterous for a commercial nation. In 1571 Alva attempted to enforce it. His attempt aroused a storm of opposition; the shops were closed, business was suspended, and trade and manufactures came to a standstill. According to contemporaries, 'the brewers would not brew, the bakers would not bake, the tavern-keepers would not tap their beer.' Even Alva was obliged to acknowledge himself beaten.

§ 7. Many of the exiles had taken refuge on the sea,

where they were little better than pirates, attacking Spaniards and other Papists. They were dreaded by friends and foes alike. Acting on the advice of Admiral Coligny, William had furnished these men with an organization, but he found it impossible to enforce discipline. On April 1, 1572, these 'Sea-Beggars', as they were called, under William de la Marck, seized Brille, a fortified town on Voorn, which was then an island in the mouth of the Maas. The people were compelled to take an oath of allegiance to William as Stadtholder under the King, and the flag 'which was the symbol of the new sea power on that day born into the world' was hoisted for the first time. Town after town, especially in the provinces of Holland and Zealand, rose and declared for the Stadtholder, William of Orange. The French Court, now under the influence of Coligny, promised to help the Netherlanders, and Elizabeth, who had previously confined her assistance to permitting the English sailors to attack Spanish ships, sent money to William of Orange. Lewis of Nassau took Mons (May 24), and on July 15, 1572, deputies from the States of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, while still acknowledging the authority of Philip, recognized William as Stadtholder.

The 'Sea-Beggars' at Brille, April 1, 1572.

William recognized as Stadtholder of northern provinces, July, 1572.

The Prince had already set out from Germany to raise the southern provinces when the news of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew reached him. No help could now be expected from France. 'What a sledge-hammer blow that has been!' William wrote to his brother. 'My only hope was from France.' Mons had to be abandoned, and on September 19 Lewis of Nassau was obliged to capitulate. The terms of the capitulation were violated by Alva, and Mons was cruelly treated. Mechlin and Zutphen were scenes of terrible bloodshed,

Capitulation of Mons, Sept. 1572

The siege of Haarlem, Dec. 1572–July, 1573.

but, in spite of this, other towns in the northern provinces held out. The Spaniards besieged Haarlem for seven months (Dec. 1572–July, 1573) before they could take it, and when at last the citizens surrendered two thousand were murdered in cold blood, and their bodies, tied two and two together, were cast into Haarlem Lake.

'The nation of fishermen and shopkeepers, once the scorn of Spain and of Europe for their patient endurance of indignities, were seen at last to be a race of heroes, determined never again to endure the yoke of the Spaniard.'[1] The Spanish soldiers mutinied, the Spanish fleet was defeated by the Dutch sailors, and Alva asked for his recall.

Recall of Alva, 1573.

Don Luis de Requesens Regent, 1573–6.

§ 8. On November 17, 1573, he was succeeded by Don Luis de Requesens, a distinguished general from the higher Spanish nobility, high-minded and of a generous disposition. Had he been sent earlier, the revolt of the Netherlands might never have taken place. He reversed Alva's policy, dissolved the Council of Blood, and tried to win back the provinces by conciliation. William, however, refused to make terms on any conditions that did not include the promise of freedom of conscience, the restoration of the ancient charters, and the withdrawal of Spaniards from all posts, civil and military. The war continued, and still the Netherlanders were always victorious at sea but were defeated in land battles.

In February, 1574, the Sea-Beggars took Middelburg, and thus became masters of the whole island of Walcheren; but in April, at Mooker Heyde, Lewis of Nassau and his brother Henry were defeated and slain. Leyden, which had been besieged since November, 1573, still held out, though there seemed no hope for it after

Death of Lewis, April, 1574.

[1] Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, p. 262.

the defeat of Lewis's army. William suggested to the Estates of Holland that they should cut the dikes and let in the sea. 'It is better to ruin the land than to lose it,' he said. His advice was followed, but contrary winds prevented the waters from rising high enough to reach Leyden. At last, on October 3, after four months of terrible suspense and suffering, the inhabitants watched the fleet of the Beggars sail on the incoming tide to the walls of the city; the Spaniards fled, the Beggars entered, and the rescued people went to the church to offer thanksgiving for their deliverance, but the singing suddenly came to an end and nothing was heard but low weeping. The long-expected relief was too much for the overwrought people. At William's suggestion the University of Leyden was founded in commemoration of the relief.

Relief of Leyden, Oct. 3, 1574.

In 1575 Requesens once more attempted negotiations, but they were useless, for Philip would concede nothing more than permission to the Protestants to sell their possessions and leave the country. The next year the Regent died suddenly. The Spanish soldiers, angry at their want of pay, mutinied (July), and for three days sacked Antwerp (Nov. 4–7). They massacred thousands of the people, and burnt some of the finest buildings.

The 'Spanish Fury', Nov. 1576.

On November 8, delegates from all the provinces, Protestant and Roman Catholic, signed the Pacification of Ghent, 'whereby they agreed that, while still acknowledging the authority of Philip, all should combine to drive the Spanish soldiers out of the land, and that the States-General should be summoned.' The Prince of Orange was to be Governor of the seventeen provinces and Admiral-General of Holland and Zealand. The edicts against heresy were to be suspended, but no attack was to be made upon the Catholic religion.

The Pacification of Ghent, Nov. 1576.

Don John of Austria Regent, 1576–8.

§ 9. Meanwhile, Don John of Austria had arrived as Regent (Nov. 1576), but he was not allowed to make his state entry into Brussels until he had, by the 'Perpetual Edict', confirmed the Pacification (Feb. 1577). When in the city he found himself Regent only in name. 'The Prince of Orange,' he wrote to the King, 'has bewitched the minds of all men.' In 1578 Philip sent the young Alexander of Parma, the best general and the wisest statesman he had employed in the Netherlands, with a large army, to assist Don John. This army defeated the patriots at Gemblours (Jan. 31, 1578). Parma and Don John now did all they could to foment the difference between northern and southern provinces, between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Parma in the Netherlands, 1578.

In July the Catholics invited Francis, Duke of Anjou, to become 'Defender of the liberties of the Netherlands', and William felt it politic not to oppose the invitation, but at the same time he secured the alliance of Queen Elizabeth and Henry of Navarre. Don John died in October, and Parma, who became Regent, was successful in widening the breach between the provinces.

§ 10. William began to realize that a union of the whole seventeen provinces was impossible.

Catholic Union of Arras, 1579.

On January 5, 1579, a defensive league was signed at Arras between the provinces of Hainault, Douai, and Artois, for the protection of the Roman Catholic religion and with the ultimate intention of a reconciliation with Spain.

Protestant Union of Utrecht, 1579.

On January 29, the northern provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Zutphen, formed the Union of Utrecht, binding themselves 'as one province' to defend their rights against all foreign potentates, including the King of Spain. 'These two leagues mark the definite separation of the Romanist South

from the Protestant North, and the creation of a new Protestant State, the United Provinces.'

In June, 1580, Philip published the ban against William of Orange; he was denounced as 'an enemy of the human race', and all loyal subjects were forbidden to give him food, drink, or fire; twenty-five thousand crowns, immunity from punishment for any crime, and a patent of nobility were promised to any one who should 'deliver this pest to us, dead or alive, or take his life'. Shortly after, William answered in his famous 'Apology', which is an account of his whole career and a scathing denunciation of Philip. It was translated into several languages and sent to all the Courts of Europe.

The ban against William, 1580.

On July 26, 1581, by the Act of Abjuration, the representatives of Brabant, Flanders, Utrecht, Guelderland, Holland, and Zealand solemnly renounced their allegiance to the King of Spain.

The Act of Abjuration, 1581.

William felt that the new commonwealth was not strong enough to stand alone. He therefore used all his influence to persuade Francis, Duke of Anjou, to accept the sovereignty. He knew the Duke was weak and dissipated, but hoped to be able to control him. As the heir of France and the suitor of Elizabeth, Anjou seemed to the Prince a means of obtaining two powerful kingdoms. In February, 1582, Anjou finally accepted the sovereignty. He was not a success, however; he was jealous of William's influence, and he disliked the restraints which were placed upon him. He endeavoured to make himself master by a *coup d'état* in January, 1583. He succeeded in occupying some towns, but at Antwerp his attempt caused the citizens to resist, and nearly two thousand of his troops were massacred. Parma

Sovereignty accepted by Anjou, 1582.

The 'French Fury', 1583.

was now successful in recovering nearly all of the central provinces, except Brabant. Anjou left for France in June, and died there a year later (June, 1584).

Assassination of William, July 10, 1584.

Already since the publication of Philip's ban several attempts had been made to assassinate William, and, on July 10, 1584, a Roman Catholic fanatic, Balthazar Gerard, contrived to shoot him at Delft. The Prince fell with the words, 'My God, have pity on my soul, and on this poor people.' At the age of fifty-one, the greatest man the struggle had produced thus passed away. He was the one great leader who rose above the religious differences of the time and strove for toleration in its broadest sense. Having no strong religious feelings in his youth, but living as a consistent Roman Catholic until 1555, he gradually changed, and publicly declared himself a Calvinist in 1573. Possessing great talents as well as great ambition and a love of power, he was able to curb his passions and keep them in control, content to be the defender of his country, and declining to be her ruler. 'Yet though cut off, with his task unfinished, William the Silent had really done his work. The foundations of that mighty Dutch Republic, which will ever be inseparably connected with his name, were already laid so strong and deep that on them men of his blood, successive Princes of Orange scarcely less great than he, were able to build up the edifice of a world-wide commercial and colonial empire.'[1]

Maurice and Oldenbarneveldt.

William left two men very capable of carrying on his work. Maurice, his second son, a born general, though now only a youth of seventeen, was at once made Captain-General and Stadtholder of Holland and Zealand, and afterwards (1590) of Guelderland, Utrecht,

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii, p. 259.

and Overyssel. Maurice did not care for politics, but John van Oldenbarneveldt, the Pensionary of Rotterdam, a wise statesman, was well able to guide the politics of the United Provinces through the difficult time that followed.

§ 11. Immediately after the death of William, however, foreign assistance was a necessity. Parma was gaining continual success in the south. The Netherlanders offered the sovereignty to Henry III of France, but at the command of the league (p. 267) he declined the honour (July, 1585). Unable to get help from the French, the people turned to England, and in December, 1585, Elizabeth at last openly sent assistance by dispatching a body of troops under the Earl of Leicester. At the same time she declined the sovereignty of the Netherlands. A little later this was offered to Leicester, who accepted it without consulting the Queen, to Elizabeth's great indignation. The new Governor was successful neither as general nor as statesman; he had many difficulties to contend with, because of the various parties and factions in the provinces, and his Calvinistic prejudices led him to renounce altogether William the Silent's policy of toleration. While under his command, the patriots suffered many disasters, including the failure to take Zutphen in October, 1586, when Sir Philip Sidney fell. In the following year Elizabeth, who had already forgiven Leicester, recalled her favourite, and threw all the blame of the failure upon the Dutch. In reality, she herself was partly responsible, for she refused to send sufficient supplies, and never threw herself heartily into the cause of the allies, hoping by this means to be in a position to negotiate satisfactory terms between them and Philip.

The Earl of Leicester in the Netherlands, 1585–7.

The Spanish King, however, was now determined to attack England. Parma earnestly recommended that he should first make a serious attempt finally to conquer the United Provinces, but his advice was not regarded. Mary, Queen of Scots, died in 1587, leaving to Philip all her claim to the crown of England, and in May, 1588, the Great Armada sailed. Parma, the most competent of all the generals of Spain, was prevented by the Netherlanders from co-operating on England. The defeat of the Armada ruined Spain, destroyed her supremacy on the sea, and made the reconquest of the United Provinces an impossibility. Before his death in 1592, however, Parma had reduced the southern provinces to complete obedience. He had also, by his assistance to the Catholics (1589–92), postponed the triumph of Henry of Navarre in France.

The Armada, 1588.

Complete reduction of southern provinces, 1592.

Meanwhile, Maurice had won many successes, and these continued after the death of Parma. Eventually, in 1609, a twelve years' truce between the United Provinces and Spain practically acknowledged the independence of the former, though the formal recognition was not made till 1648. The new commonwealth had internal difficulties to contend with, many of them caused by the rivalry between the provincial and the central authorities, but these did not affect her prosperity. Her commerce prospered, she won a great colonial empire, and for a time was mistress of the seas. The science, art, and literature of the Dutch gave them a high rank also among the civilized nations of the world.

Independence practically acknowledged, 1609.

Very different was the condition of the Spanish Netherlands, where the cities that, at the beginning of the struggle, had been as wealthy and prosperous as any in Europe, were now like cities of the dead, their in-

dustries neglected, their trade gone. It was long before these provinces regained their energy and vitality.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. Describe the character of William the Silent and estimate the value of his work.
2. How far was the revolt of the Netherlands a struggle for religious liberty, and how far a fight for national independence?
3. Describe the effect of the struggle for independence upon the character and prosperity of the Dutch.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE AND THE REIGN OF HENRY IV

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CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

As in Chapter XI.

A. THE REFORMATION AND THE FORMATION OF PARTIES

The early reformers.

§ 1. THE beginning of the Reformation in France was especially closely connected with the Renaissance. It was in no sense a national movement working upward from the people, as in Germany, nor was it guided and controlled by the sovereign, as in England. It began with a group of humanists, who desired to reconcile the truths of Christianity with the New Learning, to study the Scriptures at first hand, and 'preach Christ from the sources'. These men had no thought of revolution; the reformation they desired was to be carried on within the Church by the Church itself.

Lefèvre and the 'Group of Meaux'.

The leader of the early reformers was Jacques Lefèvre of Étaples, a distinguished humanist, who preached the doctrine of Justification by Faith in the notes to his new Latin translation of the Epistles of St. Paul as early as 1512. He revised a former French translation of the Bible, publishing the New Testament in 1523 and the Old Testament two years later. A pupil of Lefèvre's, Guillaume Briçonnet, became Bishop of Meaux in 1516, and gathered round him a number of earnest and religious humanists (including Lefèvre himself and Guillaume Farel of Dauphiné[1]), who became known as

[1] Guillaume Farel, 'the apostle of French-speaking Switzerland,' was born in 1489. He became a disciple of Lefèvre in Paris and followed his master to Meaux. After leaving there he went to Basel and Strasburg, and from the latter place to Berne and other places in Switzerland. He began his work in Geneva in 1532, and

'the Group of Meaux'. Briçonnet was the spiritual director of Francis I's sister, the pure and enthusiastic Margaret of Angoulême,[1] whose Court was always a centre and a refuge for humanists and reformers.

The writings of Luther were quickly circulated and much read in France, but the ideas of Zwingli seem to have appealed more to the advanced French thinkers. In 1521 the Sorbonne, the Theological Faculty in the University of Paris, formally condemned Luther's writings, and in the same year the *Parlement*[2] of Paris ordered his book to be given up.

Attitude of Francis I towards reform.

§ 2. Francis I warmly sympathized with the Renaissance, though he had no comprehension of the deeper Reformation movement, and this sympathy, combined with the influence of his sister, inclined him at first to protect the reformers. Consequently, when the library of Louis de Berquin, a gentleman of Picardy, was seized and many of his books publicly burnt by order of the *Parlement*, 1523, Berquin himself was saved by the King. Later, however, the complications of foreign policy and the extravagance of fanatics among the reforming parties caused Francis to become more and more intolerant. During her son's captivity in Madrid, Louise of Savoy, the Queen Mother, joined with the *Parlement* in an effort to crush heresy.

In July, 1525, a wool-carder named Jean Leclerc was burnt at Metz for an outrage on images, in October

persuaded Calvin to take up his residence there in 1536. See ch. xii, B.

[1] Margaret was born at Angoulême in 1492. She married the Duke of Alençon in 1509, and, after being a widow for two years, married Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, in 1527. She died in 1549 and left one child, Jeanne d'Albret, the mother of Henry of Navarre.

[2] The *Parlements* were the highest courts of justice in France, the *Parlement* of Paris being by far the most important of them.

Briçonnet was ordered to disperse the preachers of Meaux, in the following January Berquin was imprisoned, and in February a young man named Joubert was burnt at Paris. During this time, too, many other persons were arrested and Lefèvre's translation of the New Testament was publicly burnt. The King returned from captivity in March, and at first showed favour to the reformers, ordering the *Parlement* to set Berquin at liberty and appointing Lefèvre himself tutor to his youngest son.

Persecution of Protestants.

In May, 1528, however, some revolutionary spirits in Paris mutilated a statue of the Virgin. This action enraged the King, and Berquin being again brought to trial a little later, Francis refused to interfere, and the reformer was burnt (April, 1529). The King, being desirous of obtaining the alliance of the Pope and the pecuniary support of the French clergy, adopted a policy of persecution which was continued until 1532, when he entered into negotiations with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and consequently relaxed the persecutions in France.

Once more the rashness of fanatics destroyed the hopes of the more moderate reformers. On October 18, 1534, the walls of the principal streets of Paris were covered with placards attacking the Mass and its celebrants in coarse and offensive language. The King was furious, and a religious persecution began. Various edicts against heretics were issued, and promptly and rigorously enforced, 'and the fires of persecution were soon kindled all over France.' In 1545 some three thousand of the Waldenses of Provence were massacred and twenty-two of their villages destroyed, and in the following year fourteen artisans belonging to the newly organized Reformed Church at Meaux (the 'fourteen of Meaux')

were executed after undergoing what was known as 'extraordinary' torture.

Results of the persecution.

By this time Protestants were to be found in every province of France except Brittany. The result of the persecution was to drive many into exile and to intimidate others into outwardly conforming with the Church. On the other hand, the steadfastness with which men died for the new faith and the purity of the lives of its adherents did more than anything else to add to the number of converts. Moreover, refugees from Geneva and Strasburg came back to France filled with the desire to spread the Evangelical doctrines, even at the risk of their lives. From one part of the land to another they crept, along the great roads and waterways, often changing their names to escape detection, and meeting their followers at night in fields, in cellars, or in the houses of quiet suburbs.

Calvin's influence in France.

§ 3. French Protestantism had been only slightly affected by the influence of Luther; the Reformation in France was a more or less independent movement based directly upon the study of the Scriptures, and in the earlier years had no organization. Almost from the time of the publication of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), however, it was guided and controlled by Calvin, the great Frenchman whom few except his countrymen have been able thoroughly to understand and appreciate. From Geneva Calvin wrote continually to the French Protestants, solving their difficulties, exhorting, encouraging, and inspiring them. When in the year 1555 they began to organize their churches, they used as a model that founded at Strasburg by their leader, and in the following years the organization of churches in all parts of France was carried on under the supervision of the Reformer of Geneva.

§ 4. In 1547 Francis I was succeeded by his son, Henry II, and the persecution of the Protestants became more rigorous than before. A special chamber of the *Parlement* was created for the trial of heretics (October, 1547). It was known as *La Chambre Ardente*, from the number of victims it sent to the stake. The Edict of Chateaubriand (June, 1551) aimed at uniting all the forces of the kingdom, clerical and lay, in a great effort to extirpate heresy. An attempt to introduce the Inquisition into France (1557) was, however, successfully opposed by the *Parlement*. This opposition marks the beginning of a reaction against the severe persecution of the Protestants.

Increased persecution under Henry II, 1547–59.

By this time there were at least 300,000 Huguenots[1] in France; they belonged mostly to the classes of the burghers and tradesmen and the lesser nobility, but at the end of Henry II's reign they were joined by men and women from the higher ranks of society, notably Admiral Coligny and his brother François d'Andelot, and the two Bourbon brothers—Antony, King of Navarre in the right of his wife Jeanne, and Louis, Prince of Condé. Protestantism never appealed to the lower classes in France; the Huguenots, therefore, were always in a minority in the kingdom.

§ 5. On July 10, 1559, Henry II died, having been mortally wounded in a tournament held to commemorate the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. He left four sons, all somewhat weak in intellect and physique; three of them afterwards became Kings of France.[2] Francis, the eldest, was only fifteen years old when he succeeded to the

Francis II, 1559–60.

[1] The name given to French Protestants; it was first applied to the Protestants in Geneva, and may be a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen* (confederates).

[2] See Genealogical Table II.

throne. He was devoted to his wife, Mary Queen of Scots, and entrusted the government of the kingdom to her uncles, the Guises.

The Guises.

From this time the Reformation in France became a political as well as a religious movement. The Guises, coming from Lorraine, were looked upon as foreigners by the French nobility, though they were descended in the female line from René of Anjou.[1] Claude, a younger son of René of Lorraine, had come to seek his fortune at the French Court during the reign of Francis I, and had been treated with great favour by the King—Guise, Aumale, and Mayenne being erected into duchies for him. He died in 1550 and was succeeded as Duke of Guise by his son Francis, who won great popularity by his successful defence of Metz (1552–3) and by the taking of Calais (1558). A younger son, Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, was a statesman of great ability and power, who controlled the government of the kingdom during the brief reign of his nephew. The Guises had always been firm supporters of the Pope, and in France they were leaders of the party opposed to the Reformation.

The Bourbons.

On the other side were the Bourbons—the weak and unstable Antony, husband of Jeanne d'Albret and heir to the throne after the sons of Henry II, and his brother Louis, the Prince of Condé, a far more capable man, who soon began to take the lead. With these were the three

The Châtillons.

Châtillon brothers—Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, who as yet was only suspected of an inclination toward reform, Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France and 'the great man of his side', and Francis d'Andelot, an able supporter of his brother. Opposed to the Guises, but a stanch Catholic, was the Constable, the stern and uncompromising Montmorency.

[1] See Genealogical Table V.

Outside of all these parties was the Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici. Married at the age of thirteen to a French prince who never cared for her, half despised by the nobility of France because of her origin, always kept in the background while her husband's favourite, Diana of Poitiers, took her place, yet possessed of an inordinate ambition and ever conscious of ability and power, this woman had an unfortunate and difficult position. The opportunity seemed to come with the death of her husband and the accession of her young son, but still she was deprived of authority by the Guises. Catherine has, perhaps, as bad a reputation as any woman in history; she was not actually immoral, but she was destitute of any moral sense. Under happier circumstances she might have made a good ruler, but, being unable to obtain power without scheming for it, she became crafty and intriguing. Ambitious and without principle, she followed the Machiavelian policy typical of the statesmen of her own land.

Catherine de' Medici, 1519–89.

The government of the Guises was not popular; the finances of the kingdom were in a serious condition, the war in Scotland against the 'Lords of the Congregation' (p. 199) was unsuccessful, the nobles of France were jealous of the family in power, and the question of resisting the severe religious persecution was discussed by the Huguenots, though it was sternly denounced by Calvin. In February, 1560, the Seigneur de la Renaudie, a Protestant gentleman whose brother had been strangled without trial, formed a plot to arrest the Guises and place the King under the guardianship of the Bourbons. News of the plot leaked out, and the Court was moved from Paris to Amboise. The enterprise failed, la Renaudie himself was slain in a skirmish, and many other conspirators were drowned or hanged (March 17, 1560). So

Unpopularity of the Guises, 1560.

The 'Tumult of Amboise', 1560.

strong was the feeling of discontent that even the Guises realized that some change in policy was necessary.

Through the influence of Catherine de' Medici, Michel de l'Hôpital, a great lawyer and one of the most moderate men of his day, who thoroughly disapproved of persecution, was made Chancellor. By the Edict of Romorantin (May, 1560) liberty of conscience was permitted to the Protestants, though liberty of worship was still forbidden. At an Assembly of the Notables held in August, Admiral Coligny boldly stood forth as the champion of the Huguenots, and many other members advocated a cessation of persecution and a reform of the morals and discipline of the clergy.

Edict of Romorantin, May, 1560.

Rumours of another conspiracy, however, led to the arrest of Condé. The Prince was tried and sentenced to execution, but he was saved by the sudden death of the young King (Dec. 5, 1560) and the consequent end of the domination of the Guises.

Death of Francis II, Dec. 1560.

§ 6. Charles IX (1560–74) was only ten years old, and Catherine de' Medici realized that her opportunity had at last arrived. The position of Regent belonged by right to Antony of Bourbon, but he was easily bought off, and the office was occupied by the Queen Mother, who made Montmorency and Antony her chief advisers. Catherine hoped to be able to play off one party against the other, thus securing her own power. On December 13 the Estates-General[1], which had been summoned under Francis II, met at Orleans, and on January 28 an edict was issued ordering that all persecution should cease, and admonishing the people to 'live in a catholic manner' for the future. This edict gave a considerable impulse to the Protestant movement and roused the wrath of

Charles IX, 1560–74.

Catherine Regent, 1560.

Edict of January, 1561.

[1] The representative assembly of France, corresponding to the English Parliament.

the stricter Roman Catholics. As a consequence riots broke out, the Huguenots were mobbed, and they in return invaded churches and destroyed images and relics. Calvin wrote very strongly against such lawlessness. An edict of July, 1561, forbade all meetings for worship conducted in any other manner than according to the rites of the Catholic Church, but relaxed the severity of the punishments for heresy.

Further attempts at compromise, 1561–2.

About the same time a religious conference to which Protestants were invited was held at Poissy. The speech of Calvin's disciple, Theodore Beza, made a great impression, but the conference proved that no compromise between Catholics and Huguenots was possible. In January, 1562, an attempt was made to secure toleration. For the first time the Protestants were legally recognized, and they were allowed to assemble for public worship anywhere outside walled towns. This edict exasperated the Catholics and did not satisfy the Protestants. Montmorency had already joined the Guises, and the weak Antony of Bourbon was now won over. Disturbances broke out in different parts of the country, and civil war became imminent.

B. The Wars of Religion, 1562–89

§ 7. On Sunday, March 1, 1562, the Duke of Guise was travelling from Joinville to Paris with his wife and children, his brother, the Cardinal of Guise, and about 200 armed gentlemen. As he rode through Vassy he found a Huguenot service going on in a barn there. His followers hastened to disperse the worshippers, who made some resistance; stones were thrown, and a fight followed, in which some sixty of the unarmed men and women were slain and many were seriously wounded before the Duke could quell the tumult. The news of the massacre

Massacre of Vassy, 1562.

spread like wild-fire; the extreme Catholics rejoiced, the Regent and the Chancellor were dismayed, and the Protestants were furiously indignant. The Guises entered Paris (March 16), and Catherine retired with the young King to Fontainebleau, inviting Condé to protect her and her children. Condé, however, allowed this opportunity to pass, and the Regent was compelled by Antony of Bourbon to return to Paris, where she began definitely to side with the Romanists. Meanwhile other massacres followed, and, in retaliation, the Huguenots again invaded churches, destroying images and altars.

First Civil War, Aug. 1562–March, 1563.

Condé called the Protestant nobles together at Orleans, and the dreary period of civil wars, partly religious and partly political, began (Aug. 1562). The Huguenots were assisted by the German Princes and Elizabeth of England,[1] their opponents by the Pope and Philip II of Spain. In October Rouen was taken by the Catholics, Antony of Bourbon dying of a wound received during the siege. In December, at the battle of Dreux, where both parties claimed the victory though the advantage lay with the Catholics, Condé was taken prisoner on the one side and Montmorency on the other. Two months later the Duke of Guise was assassinated by a fanatical Huguenot named Poltrot (Feb. 24, 1563), and Catherine de' Medici became the head of the Catholic party. Terms of peace were now arranged, and by the Treaty of Amboise (March, 1563) Condé and Montmorency were exchanged, and the Protestant services were permitted in the towns where they had been held before the war, Paris, however, being excepted.

Assassination of Guise, Feb. 1563.

[1] Elizabeth demanded the cession of Dieppe and Havre as the price of her assistance, and she held the latter port until the English were driven out by force in July, 1563.

§ 8. In June, 1565, Catherine had a conference with Alva at Bayonne. This once more roused the fears of the Protestants, and, when Alva began his policy of extermination in the Netherlands, they formed the 'Conspiracy of Meaux' to get possession of the King's person (Sept. 1567). The failure of this attempt led to the second Civil War. In the indecisive battle of St. Denis (Nov. 10, 1567) the Constable Montmorency fell, and the command of the Catholic troops was given to the King's brother, Henry of Anjou. The Treaty of Longjumeau, which ended the war (March, 1568), confirmed the terms of the Treaty of Amboise.

'Conspiracy of Meux,' Sept. 1567.

Second Civil War, Sept. 1567–March, 1568.

The Catholics now made a great effort to inspire the people with enthusiasm for the Roman Church, while Catherine dismissed the tolerant l'Hôpital, and a plot was made to seize Condé and Coligny. These two leaders took refuge in La Rochelle, where they were joined by the heroic Jeanne d'Albret and her young son Henry of Navarre, now only fifteen years of age, but head of the Bourbon family.

§ 9. The course of the third Civil War was unfortunate for the Huguenots. In March, 1569, Henry of Anjou won the battle of Jarnac, in which Condé was slain. The command now devolved upon Coligny, whose firmness and courage were never better displayed than in the hour of defeat. About this time the Protestants were assisted by William of Orange and the Catholics by forces sent by the Duke of Alva, with the recommendation that Catherine should do in France as he had been doing in the Low Countries. At the battle of Moncontour (Oct. 1569) Coligny suffered a serious defeat, and if Anjou had followed up his victory the Huguenots might have been crushed. As it was, time was wasted in besieging St. Jean d'Angély, which held

Third Civil War, Sept. 1568–Aug. 1570.

out for six weeks, and Coligny, recovering from the wounds he had received at Moncontour, set out on a brilliant expedition across the south of France and up the Rhone. The Huguenots proved themselves ready to fight to the last, and the Peace of St. Germain (Aug. 8, 1570) was more favourable to them than any previous one. They were allowed liberty of conscience, and were acknowledged as faithful subjects capable of holding office; they were permitted to hold their services as before arranged, and four strong places—La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité—were given them as pledges for two years.

The Peace of St. Germain, Aug. 1570.

§ 10. This treaty was followed by a change of policy in the French Court. Catherine began to plan the marriage of her son Anjou with Elizabeth of England, and that of Margaret, her daughter, with the young King of Navarre. Each of these schemes involved the conciliation of the Huguenots. About this time, too, the young King seems to have shown a wish to conduct the government himself. He was jealous of his brother, the Duke of Anjou, and it may have been a desire for the real good of his country that made him long to break the connexion with Spain. Coligny was now invited to Court, where he soon acquired a great deal of influence. Henry of Navarre was betrothed to the King's sister Margaret, and plans were discussed for a great alliance between France, England, William the Silent, and the German Protestant Princes. Elizabeth, however, was not willing to commit herself. Alençon was substituted for Anjou at the end of 1571, but still the English Queen would not give a decisive answer. In April, 1572, the 'Sea-Beggars' seized Brille, and Charles IX permitted Lewis of Nassau to collect recruits from among the Huguenots of France, while Elizabeth

Change in policy of French Court.

Coligny at Court.

allowed volunteers to go from England to the Netherlands. In the same year a treaty was signed between England and France. Coligny seemed to be on the point of successfully carrying out his policy.

Alliance with England, 1572.

Catherine de' Medici became alarmed at the growing influence of the Admiral, whose greatness and statesmanship she recognized, but she was unable to take any active measures until after the marriage of her daughter with Henry of Navarre.[1] The marriage took place on August 18, amid the rejoicings of the Protestants. On August 22 Coligny, when on his way home from an audience at the Louvre, was fired on from the window of a house belonging to a retainer of the Guises. The ball carried away a finger of one hand and broke the other arm, but did not otherwise injure the Admiral. The Huguenots, who had collected in great numbers in the city to celebrate the wedding, were filled with consternation. The King turned pale on hearing the news, and hastened to visit the wounded man, accompanied, however, by his mother, who on her return closeted herself with the Duke of Anjou to discuss further measures. The next day (August 23) Catherine held a Council, at which an instant massacre of the Huguenots was decided upon, to which the unfortunate Charles was afterwards compelled by threats to give his consent.

Marriage of Margaret with Henry of Navarre, Aug. 18, 1572.

Attempted assassination of Coligny, Aug. 22.

In the early morning of August 24, St. Bartholomew's Day, the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois gave the signal that the hour had come. Other bells answered, and the massacre began. Bands of armed men wearing white crosses on their arms went through the streets of Paris, entering houses and slaying all Huguenots. The Duke of Guise made himself responsible for the death

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572.

[1] Henry's noble mother, Jeanne, died in Paris, whither she had come to settle the terms of contract (June 4, 1572).

of Coligny, 'the noblest spirit in France'; the Protestants in the Louvre were slain on the stairs, in the halls, and in the courtyards; the two young Bourbon Princes, Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, were spared, but were compelled to acknowledge themselves as Catholics. It is very possible that a massacre of the leaders only was intended, but when once the work of slaughter had begun the mob could not be restrained. The fever spread to the provinces, and Sully, Henry IV's minister, declared that as many as 70,000 persons perished altogether.[1]

The news was variously received throughout Europe. The Emperor strongly disapproved, and Elizabeth was righteously indignant, though she did not wish to break off the alliance with France in consequence. At Rome a medal was struck to commemorate the event, and in Spain Philip II is said to have laughed outright for the first and last time in his life. Charles IX never recovered from the shock of the massacre, and his death, two years later, may have been hastened by remorse.

Fourth Civil War, Aug. 1572–June, 1573.

§ 11. The Huguenots had lost their leaders and their numbers were diminished, but they were more than ever determined to hold their own. An attempt to deprive them of their strongholds led to the fourth Civil War, in which they resisted the most energetic efforts of their adversaries to recover La Rochelle. By the Treaty of La Rochelle (June 24, 1573) liberty of conscience was granted to all, but the right of public worship was permitted only in La Rochelle, Nîmes, Montauban, and in the houses of some of the principal Protestant nobles.

'The Politiques.'

Meanwhile there grew up a third party, who realized the injury the civil wars were doing to their country;

[1] The number of victims has been variously estimated, some authorities putting it as low as 10,000 and others above 100,000.

they were weary of strife, and longed for a peace to be established on the basis of mutual toleration. This party, which received the name of the *Politiques*, was led by the Montmorencies, the two sons of the old Constable, who had thus adopted the views of l'Hôpital.

In March, 1574, Charles IX died, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry of Anjou, who had been elected King of Poland in the previous year. Before the death of Charles the fifth Civil War had broken out. Henry III (1574–89), fleeing from Poland, arrived in France in September, but no change of policy followed. The Duke of Anjou (the title taken by Alençon on his brother's accession) escaped from the Court in September, 1575, and joined the party of the *Politiques*, who were then assisting the Huguenots under Condé. Henry of Navarre escaped in February, 1576, and immediately afterwards renounced his forced adhesion to Romanism. The escape of the Princes led to the ending of the war by the Peace of Monsieur (May, 1576), in which the Huguenots obtained much better terms than hitherto. They were allowed to worship anywhere except within two leagues of Paris or any town where the Court happened to be residing; Chambers of Justice, composed partly of Protestants and partly of Catholics, were established in each *Parlement*; eight strongholds were given to them as guarantees for the fulfilment of the treaty. In accordance with the wishes of the allies, the King summoned the States-General to meet at Blois in December. Contrary to expectation, the majority proved uncompromisingly hostile to the Huguenots, demanding the complete suppression of Protestant public worship, and the banishment of all ministers, elders, and deacons.

Fifth Civil War, Feb. 1574–May, 1576.

Peace of Monsieur, May, 1576.

As a result the sixth Civil War broke out in 1577;

Sixth Civil War, 1577.

it was ended by the Peace of Bergerac (Sept. 17), when the terms obtained by the Huguenots were not quite as good as those granted to them the previous year. They were, however, allowed the right of public worship in all places where it was exercised on the day of the treaty, Paris again being specially excepted.

Seventh Civil War, April–Nov. 1580.

In 1580 a seventh war followed, but this was due to a personal quarrel concerning the dowry of Margaret between Henry III and Henry of Navarre and not to religious disputes. It was ended by the Peace of Fleix (Nov. 1580), which confirmed the Peace of Bergerac. It was hoped that the latter treaty had permanently solved the religious question, and that the two religions would be able to exist peaceably side by side. The Romanists, however, were little inclined to submit to the terms. Already various Catholic leagues had been formed in the provinces, and, as early as 1576, the Duke of Guise appealed to all French Catholics to join in defence of the Church and of their King, Henry III, and to furnish themselves with arms for the accomplishment of their purpose. Henry III himself was enrolled a member. This was the beginning of the famous league.

The beginning of the Catholic League, 1576.

Henry of Navarre heir to the throne, 1584.

§ 12. The death of the Duke of Anjou in June, 1584, left the Protestant Henry of Navarre heir to the throne. The Romanists were determined never to acknowledge a Huguenot king. The Catholic League was constructed in its final form, under the leadership of Henry, Duke of Guise, and his brothers, and the members resolved to proclaim the Cardinal of Bourbon as heir to the throne.[1] At Joinville in January, 1585, Philip of Spain joined the league. Meanwhile the King acknowledged Henry of Navarre as his heir and forbade the formation of any

[1] See Genealogical Table II.

associations; he was, however, soon compelled to submit to the league (July, 1585).

The Pope published a Bull against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé (July, 1585), and, soon after, the eighth war, 'the war of the three Henries,' broke out. It was a triangular contest, for, although the weak and vicious King had submitted to the Guises, he resented their authority and their alliance with Spain, and inclined first to one policy and then to another. If Henry of Navarre would have become a Catholic, Henry III would have joined him, and the Guises might have been crushed and peace restored, but the Huguenot leader refused to abjure his faith. He won the battle of Coutras (October, 1587), but, as the war continued, the Guises increased in power; urged on by Philip II they entered Paris to force the King to make new concessions (May, 1588). Henry ordered his guards and the Swiss to hold the important points of the city; the citizens, devoted to the Duke of Guise, flew to arms and barricaded the streets. The King was compelled to ask Guise to interfere in order to save his soldiers. Henry could bear it no longer. He made one more effort to overthrow the league, and, finding it unsuccessful, he invited Guise to the royal palace at Blois and treacherously ordered his assassination (December 23, 1588). The Cardinal of Guise was arrested and slain the next day. The Cardinal of Bourbon and the young son of the murdered Duke were imprisoned.

Eighth War, 1585–9.

The Day of Barricades, Aug. 12, 1588.

Assassination of Guise, Dec. 23, 1588.

Paris was thrown into a state of the wildest excitement and indignation by the news of the assassination. The handsome, winning, chivalrous Henry of Guise had been the idol of the city, which at once organized itself to avenge his murder. The wretched King had no choice but to throw himself upon the mercy of Henry of

Navarre. A treaty was made between the two Kings, and the united forces were besieging Paris, when a fanatical monk, Jacques Clément, obtaining access to Henry III's presence, stabbed him in the lower part of the body (August 1, 1589). The King died the next day, after acknowledging Henry of Navarre as his heir and commending him to the nobles. His mother, Catherine de' Medici, had passed away in January amid the tumults that followed the death of Guise.

Assassination of Henry III, Aug. 1, 1589.

C. The Reign of Henry IV, 1589–1610

Henry's struggle for the crown, 1589–94.

§ 13. Henry of Navarre was now the legitimate King of France, but only a minority in his kingdom acknowledged his authority. The league were vigorously hostile and the Huguenots enthusiastically loyal, but the moderate Catholics did not know what course to take; they hated Spain, and, if Henry would have renounced his faith, they would willingly have accepted him as King; but this he refused to do. The position was one of great difficulty. The new King had many of the qualities that win popularity. He was a brave soldier and careless of danger, open-hearted and generous, gay and witty; possessing a great capacity for enjoyment, he was, nevertheless, ready cheerfully to endure hardships and privations.

Character of Henry.

Henry now (August 4, 1589) published a declaration promising that Roman Catholicism should remain the religion of the land, and declaring himself willing to receive instruction in its teachings. The league, however, proclaimed the Cardinal of Bourbon King as Charles X; they were supported by Paris and nearly all the large towns and by Philip II. Henry felt that he was not yet strong enough to attack the capital; he marched to the

west, therefore, where he could keep open his communications with England. In March, 1590, with forces far inferior to those of his enemies he defeated the army of the league under the Duke of Mayenne at Ivry. Probably if he had pushed on at once he might now have taken Paris by assault, but he chose a more cautious policy. In May he invested the city, and had almost reduced it when Alexander of Parma led an army from the Netherlands to its relief and forced the King to retire. The death of Parma in 1592 removed Henry's most formidable opponent. Meanwhile, the Cardinal of Bourbon had died (May, 1590) and the leaguers had no legitimate king to put in his place. The more fanatical were willing to allow France to pass under the dominion of Spain, but to this the majority would not consent.

Battle of Ivry, March, 1590.

Henry realized that no Huguenot sovereign would ever be accepted by the whole nation; he knew that the wars were ruining the land, and, caring more for his country than for religion, he 'received instruction', and on July 23, 1593, was admitted into the Roman Catholic Church. In the following February he was crowned at Chartres (Rheims still being in the hands of the Guises), and in March he entered Paris, receiving a welcome that was unexpectedly enthusiastic. Some of the leaguers still held out, but all eventually came to terms.

Henry a Roman Catholic, July, 1593.

War was openly declared against Spain in 1595, and peace was not made till 1598, when by the Peace of Vervins (May 2) the terms of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis were confirmed, Spain evacuating all the conquests she had made during the last war, with the exception of Cambray, and Henry restoring the county of Charolais. Three years later (1601), Henry exchanged Saluzzo with the Duke of Savoy for Bresse, Bugey, and Gex.

Peace of Vervins, May 2, 1598.

Edict of Nantes, April 15, 1598.

§ 14. A month before the conclusion of peace with Spain, Henry had settled the religious question in France by the publication of the famous Edict of Nantes (April 15, 1598), whereby:—

1. The Huguenots obtained liberty of conscience and the right to the exercise of their religion in all places where it had been celebrated during the two preceding years, and in addition in one town in each official district in France and in the principal castles of Protestant nobles.

2. The Huguenots were to be admitted to all schools and colleges and to all offices.

3. Special Chambers were established in the *Parlements* to try cases in which Protestants were concerned.

4. The Huguenots were to renounce all foreign alliances.

5. As a guarantee for the fulfilment of these terms, a number of towns, including the strongholds of La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes, were granted to them for eight years.

The position of the Protestant minority was thus secured, but the creation of 'a state within a state' was a political mistake and led to renewed trouble later.

Henry's home policy.

§ 15. Henry now set himself to restore order and prosperity to his almost ruined country, which for forty years had been the scene of strife and disorder. His success was in part due to the co-operation of his able minister, Sully, Marquis of Rosny. The finances of the kingdom were in a terrible condition, and the taxable value of the people was at its lowest, but Henry and Sully were not to be discouraged. Every effort was made to develop the material prosperity of the kingdom. Marshy land was drained and cultivated, rivers were made navigable, roads and bridges improved, agriculture

encouraged, manufactures fostered, commerce promoted, and the efforts of colonizers like Champlain[1] seconded. Royal domains were recovered, sinecure offices swept away, and the system of collecting taxes improved. At the same time, the greatest economy was exercised in expenditure. Henry found France on the verge of ruin, he left her prosperous.

Politically, no advance was made during the reign. The country needed a strong ruler, and the people were only too ready to leave the government to a King who combined strength and power with a real desire for the nation's good. Henry IV laid the foundations for the greatness of France in the seventeenth century. It is true that the increase in the absolute power of the monarch was one of the chief causes of the miseries which eventually led to the Revolution, but when Henry became King no other form of government was possible for France.

Assassination of Henry IV, May 14, 1610.

In foreign policy Henry's chief aim was to weaken the Hapsburgs. In May, 1610, with that end in view he was preparing to aid the Protestant Princes of Germany, when he was assassinated in the streets of Paris by a Roman Catholic named François Ravaillac. He was killed instantly. 'The assassin believed that his act would be welcome to the people of France. The execration with which it was received throughout the kingdom surprised and disappointed him. The enemies of France rejoiced; but the French people united as one man to deplore the loss of the most human and sympathetic of French Kings!'[2]

[1] Champlain was a French naval officer whom Henry IV commissioned to found establishments in North America. He founded Quebec in 1608.

[2] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iii, pp. 690–1.

Suggestions of Subjects for Essays and Questions

1. To what extent were the Guises responsible for the Civil Wars in France?

2. Describe the changes in the character of Protestantism in France during the years 1516-98.

3. Describe the character and policy of Henry IV, and estimate the value of his work for France.

Books of Reference

Armstrong, *The French Wars of Religion.*
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Johnson, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century.*
Kitchin, *History of France*, vol. ii.
Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii.
Lodge, *Student's Modern Europe.*
Sichel, *Catherine de' Medici and the French Reformers.*
Wakeman, *The Ascendancy of France.*
Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France.*
Willert, *Henry IV.* ('Heroes of the Nations.')

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
	Henry VII, 1485-1509.	**Charles VIII, 1483-1498.**
1494	Poynings' Law passed.	First French invasion of Italy.
1495		Charles VIII in Naples (Feb.). Battle of Fornovo (July).
1496	*Magnus Intercursus* between England and Netherlands.	French driven out of Naples.
1497	Voyage of John Cabot to Newfoundland and Labrador.	
1498	Erasmus at Oxford.	**Louis XII, 1498–1515.**
1499		First French conquest of Milan.
1500		Second French conquest of Milan. Treaty of Granada between France and Spain.
1501	Marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Aragon.	
1502	Marriage of Princess Margaret with James IV of Scotland. Death of Prince Arthur.	War between France and Spain.
1503		French expelled from Naples.
1504	Colet made Dean of St. Paul's.	Treaty of Blois made with Maximilian and Philip.
1506		
1508		League of Cambray joined by Louis, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Julius II, against Venice.
1509	**Henry VIII, 1509-1547.** Marriage of Henry with Catherine of Aragon.	Defeat of Venice at Agnadello.

Spain and Portugal.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
Isabella of Castile, 1474–1504. Ferdinand of Aragon, 1479–1516.	**Maximilian I, 1493–1519.**	**Pope Alexander VI, 1492–1503.**	
		Death of Ferdinand of Naples. Expulsion of Medici from Florence.	1494
	Diet of Worms: Public Peace proclaimed, Imperial Chamber set up.	League formed against France by Pope, Emperor, Ferdinand, Milan, and Venice.	1495
	Maximilian's son Philip married to Joanna of Spain.		1496
Cape of Good Hope rounded by Vasco da Gama (Portugal).			1497
		Death of Savonarola.	1498
	Peace of Basle recognizing Swiss independence of Imperial jurisdiction.		1499
Treaty of Granada.	Diet of Augsburg: Council of Regency established. Germany divided into Circles.	Operations of Caesar Borgia in Romagna, 1500–1501.	1500
Moors in Spain offered alternative of exile or baptism.			1501
War with France.			1502
Battles of Cerignola and Garigliano won for Spain by Gonsalvo de Cordova.		**Julius II, 1503–1513.**	1503
Naples annexed to Aragon. Death of Isabella.	Success of Maximilian in question of Landshut succession.	Naples annexed to Aragon.	1504
Death of Archduke Philip, husband of Joanna.	Death of Philip.		1506
League of Cambray.	Title of Emperor-Elect assumed by Maximilian.	League of Cambray.	1508
Oran captured for Spain by Cardinal Ximenes.		Venice despoiled by Julius II and Ferdinand.	1509

	England and N. Europe.	France.
1510		
1511	Holy League joined by Henry.	Louis opposed by Holy League.
1512	Unsuccessful expedition in South of France. St. Paul's School founded.	French victory at Ravenna. Death of Gaston de Foix.
1513	Battles of Spurs and Flodden Field.	French defeated at Novara.
1515	Wolsey made a Cardinal.	Peace with Spain and the Papacy. Francis I, 1515–1547. French invasion of Italy. Victory of Marignano.
1516	More's *Utopia* published.	Concordat of Bologna with Pope. Treaty of Noyon with Spain.
1517	Treaty of London with France (1518).	Treaty of London.
1520	Meeting of Henry with Charles V at Sandwich (May). Field of the Cloth of Gold (June). Meeting with Charles at Gravelines (July). The Stockholm 'Bath of Blood'.	Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1521	League between Emperor and Pope joined by Henry. Rising in Dalecarlia (Sweden) under Gustavus Vasa.	French driven from Milan.
1522	Charles V *again in* England. Treaty of Windsor between Henry and Charles.	French defeated at La Bicocca and driven from Lombardy.
1524	Gustavus Vasa King of Sweden (1523). Sweden independent, 1524.	French defeated on the Sesia; Bayard killed (April). Marseilles besieged by Imperialists (Aug.). Pavia besieged by French.

Spain and Portugal.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
Goa captured for Portugal by Albuquerque.		Terms arranged between Julius II and Venice.	1510
		Break-up of League of Cambray.	
Malacca taken by Albuquerque.		Visit of Luther to Rome.	1511
		Holy League formed.	
Navarre conquered by Ferdinand.	Germany divided into ten Circles.	Restoration of Medici to Florence.	1512
		Milan restored to son of Ludovico Sforza.	
		Leo X, 1513–1521.	1513
	Maximilian's granddaughter Mary betrothed to Lewis of Hungary, and his grandson Ferdinand to Anne, sister of Lewis.		1515
Charles I of Spain, 1516–1556.	Erasmus's Greek Testament published.	Concordat of Bologna between Pope and Francis I.	1516
Death of Ximenes.	Luther's 95 theses nailed on church door at Wittenberg.		1517
	Zwingli at Zurich from 1518.		
Spanish expedition round the world, led by Magellan, 1519–1522.	**Charles V, 1519–1556.**		1520
Revolt of the 'communeros' in Spain, 1520–1522.	Burning of Papal Bull by Luther.		
French invasion of Navarre.	Diet and Edict of Worms.	Death of Leo X.	1521
Conquest of Mexico by Cortes, 1521–1522.	Alliance between Charles and the Pope.		
	Belgrade taken by Turks.		
Suppression of the rising of the 'communeros'.	The Knights' War, 1522–1523.	**Adrian VI, 1522–1523.**	1522
	The Peasants' War, 1524–1525.	**Clement VII, 1523–1534.**	1524
		Foundation of Theatine Order.	

	England and N. Europe.	France.
1525		Total defeat of French and capture of Francis at Pavia (Feb.).
1526		Treaty of Madrid with Charles. League of Cognac joined by Francis.
1527	Alliance between England and France. Henry's divorce case submitted to Pope. Reformation in Sweden carried out by Diet of Westerås.	French invasion of Naples. Negotiations between Francis and the Turks.
1528	Campeggio in England.	French defeated at Aversa and driven from Naples and Genoa.
1529	Meeting of Reformation Parliament in England. Fall of Wolsey. Sir Thomas More Chancellor.	Defeat of French at Landriano. Peace of Cambray between Francis and Charles (Aug.).
1530	Death of Wolsey.	
1531	Henry VIII Supreme Head of the Church in England.	Marriage of Henry of Orleans with Catherine de' Medici.
1532	Annates abolished in England. Treaty between Henry VIII and Francis.	Treaty between Francis and Henry VIII.
1533	English Act in restraint of appeals to Rome. Marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.	

Spain and Portugal.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
	Victory of Charles at Pavia.	Charles master of Italy after battle of Pavia.	1525
	Secularization of Prussia by Albert of Brandenburg.		
Treaty of Madrid.	Lewis of Hungary killed at Mohacs.	League of Cognac formed between the Pope, Francis, Milan, and Venice.	1526
	Ferdinand and Zapolya chosen king of Hungary by rival factions.	Capture of Milan by Bourbon.	
	Diet of Spires: execution of Edict of Worms left to conscience of individual rulers.		
	Treaty between Charles and the Pope.	The Sack of Rome.	1527
		Medici expelled from Florence.	
		French invasion of Naples.	
		The Republic restored in Genoa under protection of Emperor.	1528
	Second Diet of Spires: the 'Protest' (March).	Treaty of Barcelona between Pope and Emperor (June).	1529
Peace of Cambray.	Vienna besieged by Turks (Oct.).		
	Civil War in Switzerland. First Peace of Kappel.		
	Coronation of Charles at Bologna.	Medici restored to Florence.	1530
	Diet of Augsburg: The Protestant Confession.		
	Ferdinand elected King of the Romans.		1531
	League of Schmalkalde organized.		
	Civil war renewed in Switzerland.		
	Death of Zwingli. Second Peace of Kappel.		
Conquest of Peru (Spain).	Religious Peace of Nuremberg.		1532
Inquisition first established at Lisbon.	Solyman forced to withdraw from Güns.		
	First treaty between Austria and Turkey.	Beginning of Michelangelo's eight years' labour on the 'Last Judgement' in the Sistine Chapel.	1533

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
1534	Authority of Pope abolished in England.	Negotiations of Francis with Soly-man and Barbarossa. Persecution of Protestants.
1535	Act of Supremacy in England. Execution of Fisher and More.	St. Lawrence explored by Cartier.
1536	Dissolution of smaller monasteries. The Pilgrimage of Grace. Marriage of Henry with Jane Sey-mour. Reformation completely carried out in Denmark.	Alliance with Turkey. Third war between Francis and Charles, 1536–1538. Occupation of Savoy and Piedmont. Charles repulsed from Provence. Publication of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion.*
1538	A Bible placed in every English church.	Truce of Nice between Francis and Charles.
1539	Marriage and divorce of Anne of Cleves. All monasteries dissolved. Act of Six Articles. The Great Bible printed.	
1540	Fall of Thomas Cromwell. Marriage of Henry with Catherine Howard.	
1541	Execution of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury. Independence of Sweden recognized by Treaty of Brömsebro.	
1542	Battle of Solway Moss.	Fourth war between Francis and Charles, 1542–1544.
1543	Marriage of Henry and Catherine Parr. Alliance with Charles V.	Siege of Nice by France and Turkey.
1544	Invasion of France. Boulogne taken.	Victory of French at Cerisoles. Invasion of France by Charles and Henry. Treaty of Crespi between Francis and Charles.

Spain and Portugal.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
Foundation of Society of Jesus by Ignatius Loyola.	Anabaptist rising at Münster.	**Paul III, 1534-1549.**	1534
	Duke Ulrich restored to Würtemberg.		
	Tunis taken from Barbarossa by Charles.	Occupation of Milan by Emperor on death of Sforza.	1535
Third war with France.	Death of Erasmus.	War between Venice and the Turks, 1537-1540.	1536
	Calvin at Geneva.		
Truce of Nice.	Catholic League of Nuremberg.		1538
Nobles excluded from Castilian Cortes.	Calvin expelled from Geneva.		
	Duchy of Saxony and Electorate of Brandenburg Protestant.		1539
	Revolt in Ghent suppressed by Charles.	The Jesuit Order established.	1540
	Death of Zapolya.	Philip invested with Milan.	
Chili conquered by Spaniards.	Diet of Ratisbon: attempt to bring about compromise between two faiths.		1541
	Invasion of Hungary by Solyman. Buda taken.		
	Calvin again in Geneva.		
Fourth war with France.	Duke of Brunswick expelled from his territories.	Inquisition established in Rome.	1542
	Conquest of Guelders by Charles.	Barbarossa in the Western Mediterranean. Rome threatened.	1543
	Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, deposed for admitting Protestantism into his dominions.		
	Diet of Spires.		1544
	Invasion of Champagne by Charles.		
Treaty of Crespi.			

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
1545		Massacre of the Vaudois in Provence. Death of the Duke of Orleans.
1546	Treaty between England and France. Wishart arrested and burnt in Scotland.	Treaty with England. Etienne Dolet burnt.
1547	**Edward VI, 1547–1553.** Battle of Pinkie. First Prayer Book of Edward VI ordered to be used (1549).	**Henry II, 1547–1559.** Mary of Scots in France (1548).
1550	Boulogne restored to France.	Boulogne restored.
1551		
1552	Execution of Somerset. Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. enforced.	Treaty of Friedwald between Henry II and German Protestant princes. Occupation of the three bishoprics.
1553	Lady Jane Grey proclaimed in England. **Mary, 1553–1558.**	
1554	Marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain.	
1555	Statutes against heretics revived. Protestants burnt.	

Spain and Portugal.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
	Truce with the Turks.	Opening of the Council of Trent.	1545
		Paul III's son, Piero Farnese, made Duke of Parma and Piacenza.	
	Death of Martin Luther.		1546
	Beginning of Schmalkaldic War.		
	Battle of Mühlberg.		1547
	Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse prisoners.		
	Diet of Augsburg: the Interim (1548).		
	Title of Tsar taken by Ivan the Terrible of Russia.	Council of Bologna suspended (1549).	
	Kasan taken by Ivan (1548).	**Julius III, 1550–1555.**	1550
	Astrakhan taken by Ivan.		
	Capitulation of Magdeburg.	Council reopened at Trent.	1551
	Agreement of Maurice of Saxony with Protestant princes.		
	Agreement of Protestants with French king.	Suspension of Council of Trent.	1552
	Augsburg taken by Maurice, and Charles almost captured at Innsbrück.		
	Treaty of Passau.		
	Failure of Charles to retake Metz.		
	Death of Maurice at Sievershausen.		1553
Marriage of Philip with Mary of England.	Expulsion of Albert Alcibiades from Germany.		1554
	Religious Peace of Augsburg.	Siena annexed to Tuscany.	1555
		Italy and the Netherlands resigned to Philip by Charles V.	
		Paul IV, 1555–1559.	

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
1556	Burning of Cranmer.	Truce of Vaucelles with Charles.
1557	War declared against France.	Battle of St. Quentin.
1558	Loss of Calais.	Marriage of Dauphin with Mary of Scots.
	Elizabeth, 1558–1603.	Calais taken by Duke of Guise.
		French defeated, by Egmont at Gravelines.
1559	Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.	Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis.
	John Knox in Scotland.	**Francis II, 1559–1560.**
		Power in the hands of the Guises.
1560	Death of Gustavus Vasa of Sweden.	Conspiracy of Amboise.
	Help given by Elizabeth to Scotch Lords of the Congregation.	Liberty of conscience secured by Edict of Romorantin.
		Charles IX, 1560–1574.
1561	Return of Mary Stewart to Scotland.	Conference at Poissy.
1562	English occupation of Havre.	Protestantism recognized by Edict of January.
	O'Neill's rebellion in Ireland.	Massacre of Protestants at Vassy.
		First Civil War, 1562–1563.
		Battle of Dreux.
1563	English forced to evacuate Havre.	Murder of Duke of Guise (Feb.).
	The Thirty-Nine Articles.	Peace of Amboise (March).
		War against England.
1564	Peace between England and France.	Peace with England.
		Death of Calvin.
1566	Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and Darnley (1565).	Interview between Catherine de' Medici and Alva at Bayonne (1565).
		Rise of the 'Politiques'.
1567	Murder of Darnley in Scotland.	Conspiracy of Meaux.
	Mary captured at Carberry Hill.	Second Civil War, 1567–1568.
		Indecisive battle of St. Denis.

Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
Crown of Spain resigned to Philip.	Abdication of Charles.	War between Paul and Philip.	1555
Philip II, 1556–1598.		The Duke of Guise in Italy.	
Death of Ignatius Loyola.			
			1557
French defeated at Gravelines.	**Ferdinand I, 1558–1564.**		1558
Death of Charles V at S. Yuste.			
Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis.		**Pius IV, 1559–1565.**	1559
Margaret, Philip's sister, appointed Regent of the Netherlands.			
	Death of Melanchthon.		1560
Protest of Orange and Egmont against action of Regent of the Netherlands.	Maximilian elected King of the Romans.		1561
	Truce between Ferdinand and Solyman.		
League of nobles of Netherlands against Cardinal Granvelle.		Reopening of Council of Trent.	1562
	Claims of Elector of Brandenburg and his heirs to succession of duchy of Prussia recognized by King of Poland.	Council of Trent closed.	1563
Philippines occupied by Spaniards.	Adoption of Calvinism in Palatinate.		1564
Granvelle recalled from Netherlands.	**Maximilian II, 1564–1576.**		
Edicts against heresy strictly enforced.			
Interview between Catherine de' Medici and Alva (1565).	War between Austria and Turkey.	Death of Michelangelo (1565).	1566
The 'Compromise', a league to resist the Inquisition in the Netherlands.	Death of Sultan Solyman.	**Pius V, 1566–1572.**	
	Accession of Selim II.		
Alva in the Netherlands.			1567
Egmont and Hoorn arrested.			

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
1568	Flight of Mary to England. Jesuit seminary for English mission founded at Douai.	Treaty of Longjumeau. Third Civil War, 1568–1570. Jesuit seminary founded at Douai.
1569	Rising of the northern earls. Rising of the Geraldines in Ireland.	Battles of Jarnac and Moncontour.
1570	Bull of Excommunication issued against Elizabeth. Treaty of Stettin between Sweden and Denmark.	Peace of St. Germain. Margaret, sister of Charles, betrothed to Henry of Navarre.
1571	Ridolfi Plot.	
1572	Alliance with France.	Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Fourth Civil War, 1572–1573.
1573	Assistance sent secretly to the Dutch by Elizabeth.	Siege of La Rochelle. Edict of Rochelle.
1574		Henry III, 1574–1589. Fifth Civil War, 1574–1576.
1576	Crown of Netherlands refused by Elizabeth (1575). Grindal Archbishop of Canterbury.	Peace of Monsieur. The Catholic League headed by the Duke of Guise.
1577	Drake's voyage round the world, 1577–1580.	Sixth Civil War. Peace of Bergerac.
1578		
1579	Marriage treaty between Elizabeth and Duke of Anjou.	

Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands.	The Empire and Eastern Europe.	The Papacy and Italian States.	
Battle of Heiligerlee won by William of Orange. Execution of Egmont and Hoorn. Battle of Jemmingen won by Alva. Revolt of the Moors in Spain, 1568–1570.	Peace between Selim and Maximilian.		1568
	Lithuania united to Poland by Treaty of Lublin.	Title of Grand Duke of Tuscany obtained by Cosmo de' Medici.	1569
Tunis captured from Spain by Turks.	Admission of Jesuits to Poland.	War between Venice and Turkey, 1570–1573.	1570
Alliance of Spain with Pope and Venice.	Death of John Sigismund Zapolya. Stephen Bathory Prince of Transylvania, the rest of Hungary under Maximilian.	Alliance between Spain, Pope, and Venice against Turks. Battle of Lepanto.	1571
Capture of Brille by 'Sea-beggars'. Orange made Stadtholder of Holland.	Death of Sigismund Augustus of Poland. Crown declared elective.	Gregory XIII, 1572–1585.	1572
Alva recalled from Netherlands.	Election of Duke of Anjou as King of Poland.	Cyprus captured from Venice by Turks. Peace between Venice and Turkey.	1573
Requesens in Netherlands. Battle of Mookerheyde. Relief of Leyden.	Flight of Anjou from Poland.		1574
Death of Requesens. Don John governor. Sack of Antwerp ('Spanish Fury'). Pacification of Ghent.	Rudolf II, 1576–1612.		1576
The 'Perpetual Edict' granted by Don John, but not published by William.			1577
Death of Don John. Parma Governor of the Netherlands.	Protestantism suppressed in Vienna.		1578
Union of Utrecht. Foundation of Dutch Republic.			1579

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
1580	Arrival of Jesuits in England.	Seventh Civil War. Peace of Fleix.
1581	Execution of Campion.	
1583	Desmond's rebellion in Ireland suppressed. Throgmorton's Plot. Court of High Commission organized by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. Expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland.	
1584	Association formed for protection of Elizabeth.	Death of Duke of Anjou. The League reorganized.
1585	Act against Jesuits.	Treaty of Joinville between the League and Spain. Treaty of Nemours between Guises and Henry III. Eighth Civil War (the 'War of the Three Henries'), 1585–1589.
1586	Sir Philip Sidney killed at Zutphen. Babington's conspiracy.	
1587	Execution of Mary Queen of Scots. Ships in Cadiz harbour destroyed by Drake.	Battle of Coutras.
1588	Defeat of Spanish Armada.	The League in control of Paris. Murder of Duke of Guise.
1589		Death of Catherine de' Medici. Assassination of Henry III. **Henry IV, 1589–1610.** Victory of Henry at Arques.
1590	Sidney's *Arcadia*. Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, 1590–1596.	Battle of Ivry. Paris besieged by Henry. Death of Cardinal of Bourbon.
1591	Shakespeare's first play, *Love's Labour's Lost*, acted.	Towns round Paris captured, and Rouen besieged by Henry. Navarre, Foix, and Albret annexed to crown of France.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND THE NETHERLANDS.	THE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE.	THE PAPACY AND ITALIAN STATES.	
Death of King Henry of Portugal.			1580
Conquest of Portugal by Philip II.			
Allegiance to Philip formally renounced by northern provinces of Netherlands.	Diet of Augsburg: contests over rights of Magdeburg and Aachen, 1582.	Gregorian Calendar instituted, 1582.	1581
Duke of Anjou Stadtholder.			
'French Fury' in Antwerp.	Gebhard, Archbishop of Cologne, becoming a Protestant, is expelled from his see, of which Ernest of Bavaria takes forcible possession.		1583
Sovereignty of Netherlands accepted by William of Orange.			
Assassination of Prince of Orange.	Death of Ivan the Terrible of Russia.		1584
Treaty of Joinville.		**Sixtus V, 1585–1590.**	1585
Leicester Stadtholder of United Provinces.			1586
			1587
Defeat of Spanish Armada.			1588
Maurice of Nassau Captain-General and Admiral of United Provinces.			
Maurice of Nassau Stadtholder of Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overyssel.			1589
		Urban VII, 1590.	1590
		Gregory XIV, 1590–1591.	
		The League in France supported by the Pope.	
Opposition in Aragon suppressed by Philip II.			1591

	ENGLAND AND N. EUROPE.	FRANCE.
1592	Establishment of Presbyterian Church in Scotland.	Rouen relieved by Duke of Parma. Perigord and Bearn annexed to France.
1593	Act against Nonconformity passed. Esthonia, Narva, and Revel obtained by Sweden.	Catholic religion adopted by Henry.
1594	Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland.	Paris entered by Henry.
1595		Open war between France and Spain. Absolution of Henry IV by Pope.
1596	Death of Drake.	End of the League.
	English expedition to Cadiz.	Submission of Mayenne to Henry.
1598		Reduction of Brittany. Edict of Nantes. Peace of Vervins.
1599	Essex sent to Ireland.	Margaret of Valois divorced by Henry.
1600	Charter granted to East India Company.	Marriage of Henry and Mary de' Medici. War with Savoy.
1601	Landing of Spanish force at Kinsale. First general Poor Law in England. Death of Essex.	Treaty of Lyons between France, Spain, and Savoy.
1604	**James I, 1603–1625.** Hampton Court Conference. Peace with Spain.	
1605	Gunpowder Plot. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.*	
1607	English settlements in Virginia and Barbados.	Failure of first attempt to colonize Canada.
1608		Quebec founded by Champlain.
1609		
1610		Alliance between Henry and the princes of the Protestant Union. Murder of Henry.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND THE NETHERLANDS.	THE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE.	THE PAPACY AND ITALIAN STATES.	
Death of Parma. Archduke Ernest Governor of Spanish Netherlands.		**Clement VIII, 1592–1605.**	1592
	War between Empire and Turkey.		1593
			1594
War with France. Archduke Albert Governor of the Netherlands.			1595
	Imperialists defeated by Turks.		1596
Philip III, 1598–1621.	End of House of Ruric in Russia.	Ferrara annexed by Pope.	1598
			1599
			1600
Treaty of Lyons. Charter granted to Dutch East India Company.	Protestants persecuted in Bohemia and Hungary from 1602.		1601
Ostend taken by Spaniards after three and a half years' siege.			1604
Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.		**Paul V, 1605–1621.**	1605
	Donauwörth occupied by Maximilian of Bavaria.		1607
	Protestant Union formed. Rudolf forced to resign all lands except Bohemia and the Tyrol to Mathias.		1608
Peace between Spain and Holland. Expulsion of Moors from Spain.	Rudolf forced to grant a Royal Charter to Bohemians. Catholic League formed.		1609
			1610

TABLE I

THE HAPSBURG FAMILY IN SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE

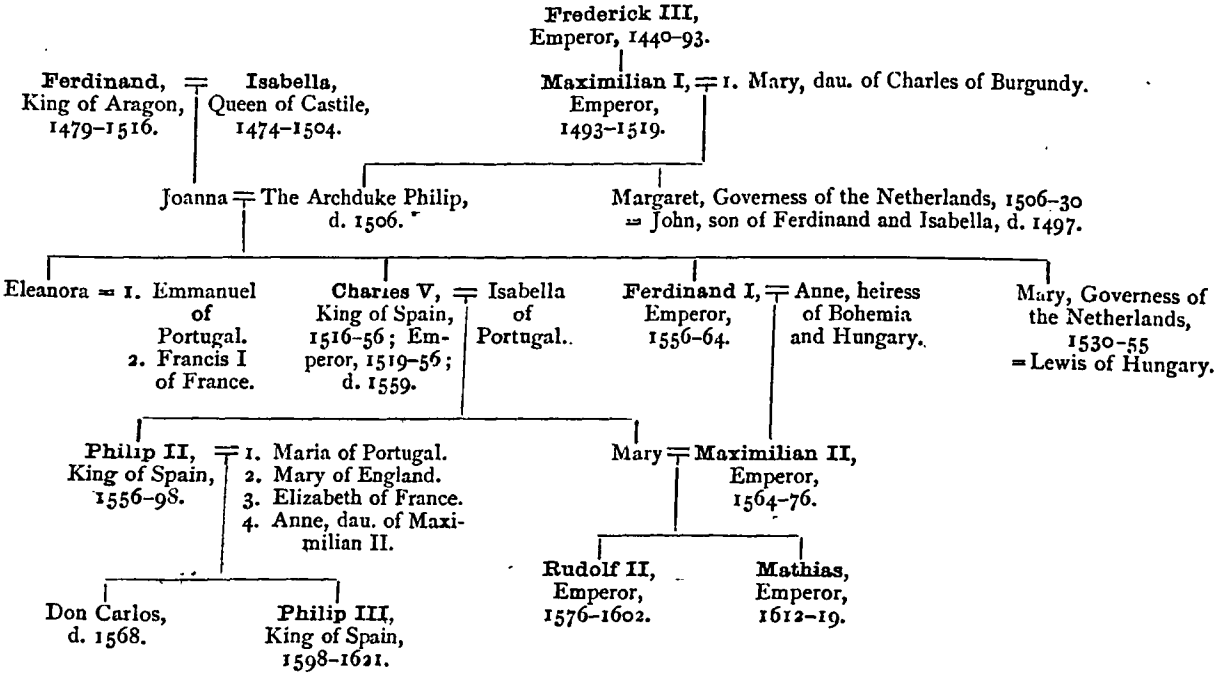

Frederick III, Emperor, 1440–93.
Ferdinand, King of Aragon, 1479–1516.
Isabella, Queen of Castile, 1474–1504.
Maximilian I, Emperor, 1493–1519.
1. Mary, dau. of Charles of Burgundy.
Joanna
The Archduke Philip, d. 1506.
Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, 1506–30
= John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, d. 1497.
Eleanora
1. Emmanuel of Portugal.
2. Francis I of France.
Charles V, King of Spain, 1516–56; Emperor, 1519–56; d. 1559.
Isabella of Portugal.
Ferdinand I, Emperor, 1556–64.
Anne, heiress of Bohemia and Hungary.
Mary, Governess of the Netherlands, 1530–55
= Lewis of Hungary.
Philip II, King of Spain, 1556–98.
1. Maria of Portugal.
2. Mary of England.
3. Elizabeth of France.
4. Anne, dau. of Maximilian II.
Mary
Maximilian II, Emperor, 1564–76.
Don Carlos, d. 1568.
Philip III, King of Spain, 1598–1621.
Rudolf II, Emperor, 1576–1602.
Mathias, Emperor, 1612–19.

TABLE II

THE HOUSES OF VALOIS AND BOURBON

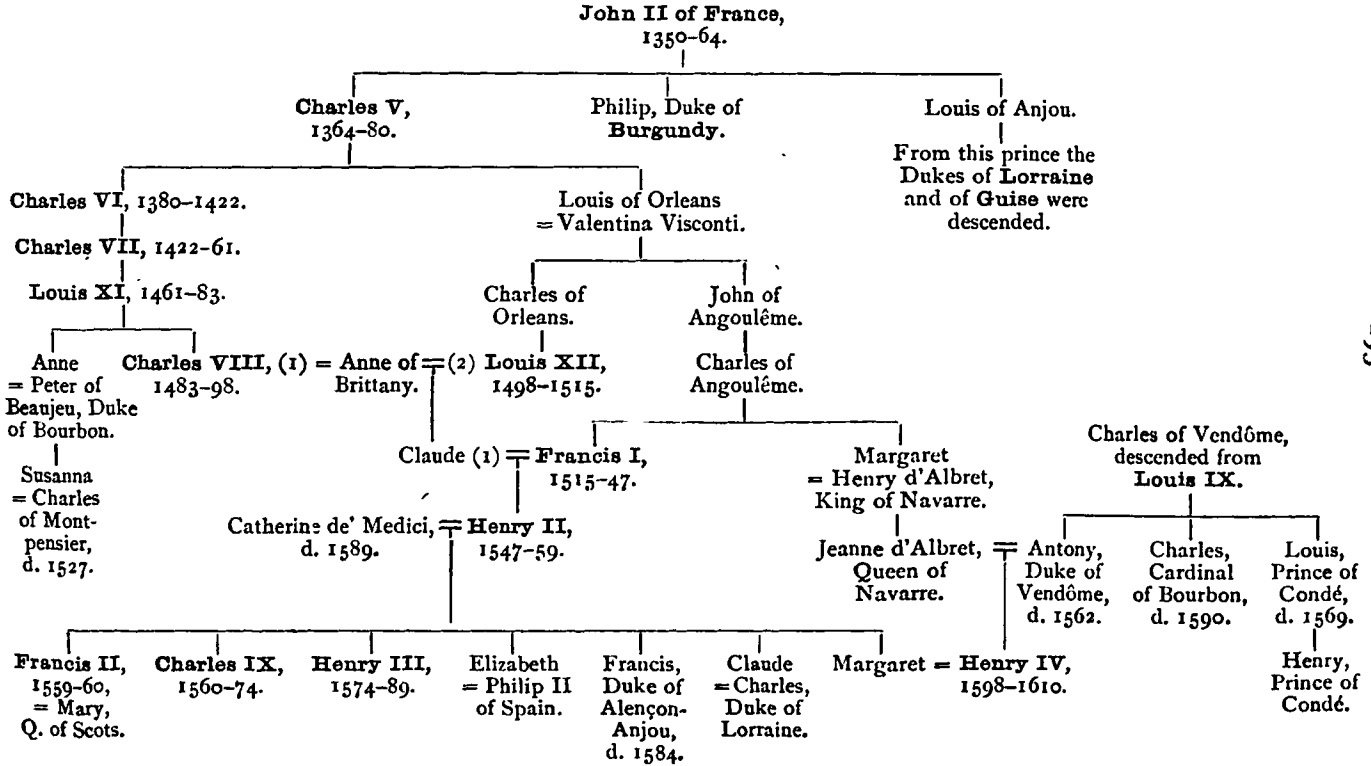

John II of France, 1350–64.
Charles V, 1364–80.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy.
Louis of Anjou.
From this prince the Dukes of Lorraine and of Guise were descended.
Charles VI, 1380–1422.
Charles VII, 1422–61.
Louis XI, 1461–83.
Louis of Orleans = Valentina Visconti.
Charles of Orleans.
John of Angoulême.
Anne = Peter of Beaujeu, Duke of Bourbon.
Charles VIII, 1483–98.
(1) = Anne of Brittany.
(2) Louis XII, 1498–1515.
Charles of Angoulême.
Susanna = Charles of Montpensier, d. 1527.
Claude (1) = Francis I, 1515–47.
Margaret = Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre.
Charles of Vendôme, descended from Louis IX.
Catherine de' Medici, d. 1589. = Henry II, 1547–59.
Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. = Antony, Duke of Vendôme, d. 1562.
Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, d. 1590.
Louis, Prince of Condé, d. 1569.
Francis II, 1559–60, = Mary, Q. of Scots.
Charles IX, 1560–74.
Henry III, 1574–89.
Elizabeth = Philip II of Spain.
Francis, Duke of Alençon-Anjou, d. 1584.
Claude = Charles, Duke of Lorraine.
Margaret = Henry IV, 1598–1610.
Henry, Prince of Condé.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

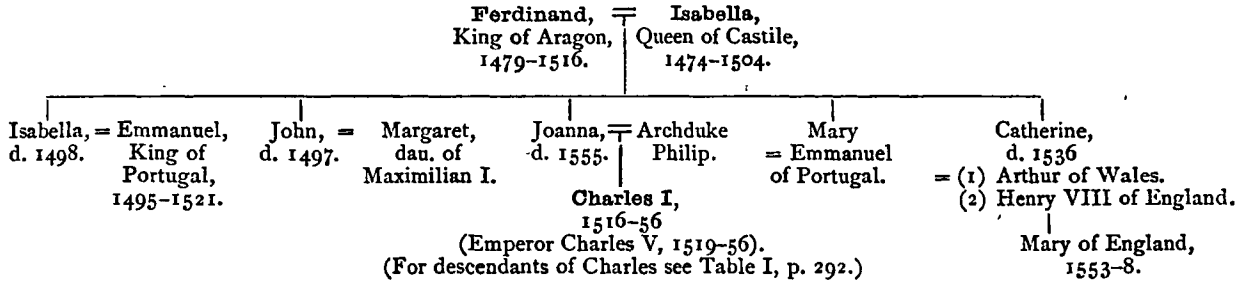

Ferdinand, King of Aragon, 1479–1516.
Isabella, Queen of Castile, 1474–1504.
Isabella, d. 1498.
Emmanuel, King of Portugal, 1495–1521.
John, d. 1497.
Margaret, dau. of Maximilian I.
Joanna, d. 1555.
Archduke Philip.
Charles I, 1516–56 (Emperor Charles V, 1519–56).
(For descendants of Charles see Table I, p. 292.)
Mary = Emmanuel of Portugal.
Catherine, d. 1536
= (1) Arthur of Wales.
(2) Henry VIII of England.
Mary of England, 1553–8.

TABLE IV

THE HOUSE OF PORTUGAL

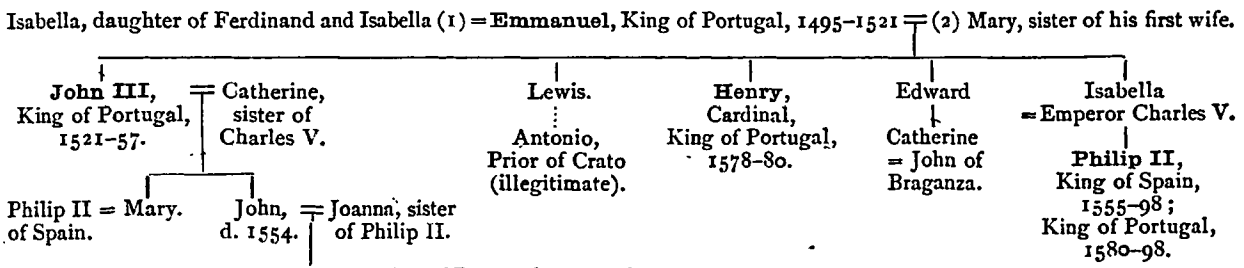

Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (1) = Emmanuel, King of Portugal, 1495–1521 = (2) Mary, sister of his first wife.
John III, King of Portugal, 1521–57.
Catherine, sister of Charles V.
Philip II of Spain.
Mary.
John, d. 1554.
Joanna, sister of Philip II.
Sebastian, King of Portugal, 1557–78.
Lewis.
Antonio, Prior of Crato (illegitimate).
Henry, Cardinal, King of Portugal, 1578–80.
Edward
Catherine = John of Braganza.
Isabella = Emperor Charles V.
Philip II, King of Spain, 1555–98; King of Portugal, 1580–98.

TABLE V

THE HOUSES OF LORRAINE AND GUISE

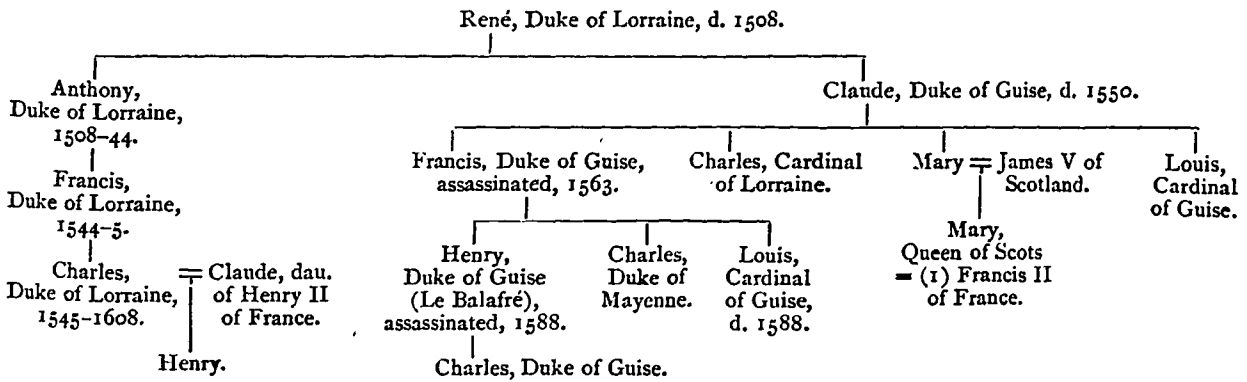
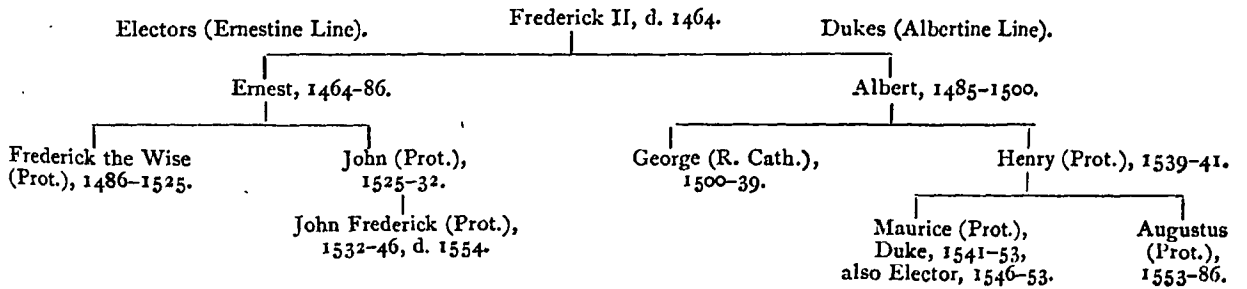

René, Duke of Lorraine, d. 1508.
Anthony, Duke of Lorraine, 1508–44.
Francis, Duke of Lorraine, 1544–5.
Charles, Duke of Lorraine, 1545–1608.
Claude, dau. of Henry II of France.
Henry.
Claude, Duke of Guise, d. 1550.
Francis, Duke of Guise, assassinated, 1563.
Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine.
Mary
James V of Scotland.
Louis, Cardinal of Guise.
Henry, Duke of Guise (Le Balafré), assassinated, 1588.
Charles, Duke of Mayenne.
Louis, Cardinal of Guise, d. 1588.
Charles, Duke of Guise.
Mary, Queen of Scots = (1) Francis II of France.

TABLE VI

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PERSIA
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PORTUGAL
Corsica
Sardinia
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Sicily
Malta
Rhodes
Crete
Cyprus
EGYPT
EUROPE
A.D. 1559
ENGLISH MILES
The Empire
Hapsburg Domin.

THE WORLD TO ILLUSTRATE THE DISCOVERIES 15TH & 16TH CENTY.

Map № 4.



G.V. Dunlachiere, Oxford 1906.

GERMANY 1547.

Map № 5.



Hapsburg Lands
Austrian ____ Spanish ____

Lands of the House of Wettin
Albertine ____ Ernestine ____

Hohenzollern Lands
Brandenburg Line ____ Franconian Line ____

Lands of the House of Wittelsbach
Bavarian ____ Palatine ____

Lands of the House of Oldenburg
Denmark-Schleswig-Holstein ____ Oldenburg ____

Boundary of the Empire ____
Ecclesiastical Lands ____ Imperial Cities ____

ITALY 1559.

Map №6.

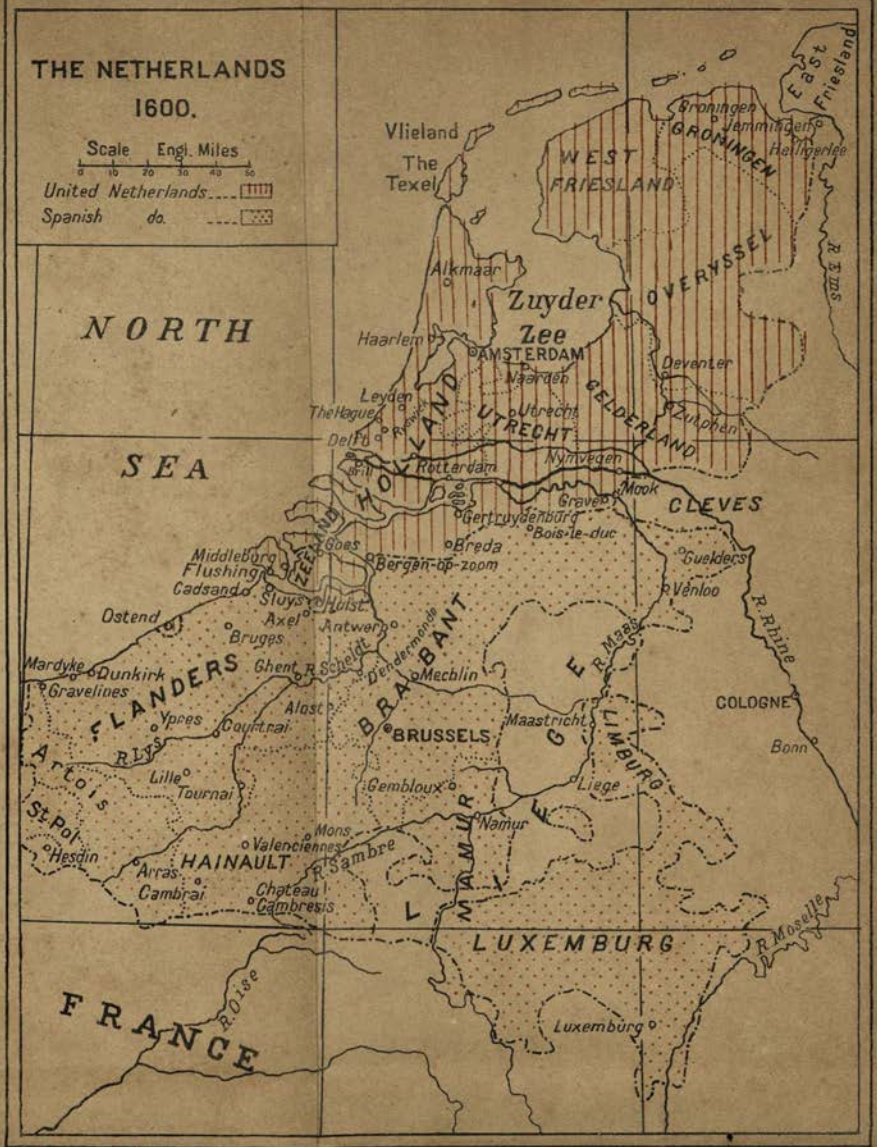


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FRANCE. 1559.

Map № 7.


ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FLANDERS
BRABANT
HAINAULT
ARTOIS
LUXEMBURG
PICARDY
NORMANDY
ISLE OF FRANCE
PARIS
CHAMPAGNE
LORRAINE
BRITTANNY
ALENÇON
ANJOU
BLOIS
BERRI
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
SWISS CONFEDERATION
POITOU
BOURBON
LA MARCHE
LIMOGES
AUVERGNE
BRESSE
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ALBRET
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LANGUEDOC
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GUIPUZCOA
NAVARRE
ROUSSILLON
CERDAGNE
FOIX
CHARLAIS
Calais
Boulogne
Etaples
St Omer
Arras
Cambrai
Château Cambresis
St Quentin
Yervins
Cherbourg
Havre
Harfleur
Rouen
Beauvais
Crespi
Laon
Rheims
Verdun
Caen
Vaucelles
Coutances
St Michel
Bayeux
Dreux
Melun
Meaux
Chalons
Nancy
Metz
Basle
Rennes
Mayenne
Le Mans
Orleans
Troyes
Vassy
Angers
Tours
Blois
Amboise
Chinon
Loches
Romorantin
Sancerre
La Charité
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R. Vienne
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R. Garonne
R. Durance
R. Adour
R. Aude
R. Lot
R. Tarn
R. Isere
R. Arriege
R. Sambre
R. Scheldt
R. Aisne
R. Oise
R. Yonne
R. Aube
R. Ornain
R. Meuse
R. Ourthe
R. Lys
R. Somme
R. Yvette
R. Orne
R. Sarthe
R. Mayenne
R. Vilaine
R. Blavet
R. Aulne
R. Elorn
R. Odet
R. Scorff
R. Laita
R. Nivelle
R. Bidassoa
R. Nive
R. Gave de Pau
R. Gave d'Oloron
R. Adour
R. Lot
R. Tarn
R. Aveyron



G. V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1902.


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